

THE SAYINGS OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE PRIVATE CHARACTER OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH

With numerous illustrations

THE BODLEY HEAD



THE SAYINGS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

BY

FREDERICK CHAMBERLIN

LL.B., M.R.I., F.R.HIST.S., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S.

WITH TWO ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLOUR

‘I am more afraid of making a fault in my
Latin than of the Kings of Spain, France,
Scotland, the whole House of Guise, and all
of their confederates.’ QUEEN ELIZABETH.

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INTRODUCTION

WHEN there remained only to set up in type these preliminary pages—for they are the last to be written—before this work could go to the binders, I met in Bond Street a prominent F.S.A. who asked what I was doing, and when I confessed that I had been dragged from the sunshine of my island to pass the English winter months of April, May, and June of 1923 in London to put through the press a volume entitled *The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth*, he remarked, “I didn’t know she said anything.” My reply, “That’s why I wrote it,” was quite within the truth, for I regard my friend as fairly typical of the great public.

I think even my brother Antiquary will conclude after reading this volume that Elizabeth *did* say a good many important things. I doubt if many will ever again put forward the contrary view. A Saying so apposite to the present conditions of the politics of Europe as :

We willingly will not repose our whole trust so far on the French nation as we will give them in pawn all our fortune and afterwards stand to their discretion. I hope I shall not live to see that hour.

is something ; as is this :

I am more afraid of making a fault in my Latin than

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of the Kings of Spain, France, Scotland, the whole House of Guise, and all of their confederates ;

and this little exhibition of Elizabeth's diplomacy :

What do I get in the way of compensation in these marriage articles for the damage to Alençon's face done by the small-pox?

and this retort :

By God's death ! I would send my fleet to disperse the Armada even if it were in the interior of Spain !

There are several hundred sentences in this volume as pungent and striking as those just quoted.

At the opening of Chapter XVII., "Leycester," I am giving to the public one of the most epochal facts in all the life of Elizabeth. It has been in my knowledge for some ten years, saved, I hoped, for my forthcoming *Life of Leycester*. But for reasons which will occur to others of similar years, I do not feel at liberty longer to attempt to withhold this most important incident.

Speaking generally, all my predecessors have been puzzled at the marked favour shown to the Earl of Leycester from the moment Elizabeth came into power. Indeed, she extended greater regard to him than to any other man—and our historians had not one moral reason for such an extraordinary exhibition of favour. So far as their knowledge went, Leycester and Elizabeth, before she ascended the throne, were not much more than the merest acquaintances—yet almost from the moment that she is crowned, Leycester becomes

the foremost man in her regard, the foremost in her counsels, the foremost among her friends, rewarded even at the very start beyond them all—and all for nothing !

A man trained to seek and pursue clues as his profession knows immediately that this condition implies a break in the chain. Things in real life do not so happen. There is bound to be some strong reason for Elizabeth's action—but so far as I can perceive nobody before me has made any attempt to discover it. The search occupied my best endeavours through more than two entire years, considerable money, the time of several paid assistants, and the ransacking of the principal libraries in Great Britain and on the Continent.

This key to Elizabeth's attitude toward Leycester—one of the most controlling of her actions—is to be found in the large Latin work *Arcana seculi decimi sexti*. . . . by H. Languet. There is confirmation as well from other sources. For one Leti, the Italian historian, who was studying in England as the official historian of Charles II., knew the truth.

Languet quotes the Queen as saying :

"I only show him [Leycester] favour because of his goodness to me when I was in trouble during the reign of my sister. At that time he . . . even sold his possessions to provide me with funds. . . ." ¹

¹ Book II. Ep. xlvii. To Ulrico Mordisio from Languet, June 16, 1561, 1699 Ed.: "Regina respondit proceribus se nunquam cogitasse de contrahendis nuptiis cum Milord Robert, sed se eum prae reliquis ideo complecti, quod (cum regnante sorore ab omnibus desereretur)

Elizabeth, at the age of twenty, was in the Tower, a prisoner of her sister—that Mary who was later to marry the King of Spain, Philip II.—and in hourly danger of execution, ostensibly for treason, but in reality because she was Protestant. Leycester, alone of all her friends, stood unafraid and bold for her cause, and, converting his property into cash, placed it at her disposition at a time when she had no other means. For that service Elizabeth never ceased to be grateful in the thirty-five years they were destined to live before death separated them.

* * * * *

I have little hesitation in recommending this book to the general public. For one thing, it brings something new to readers. For another—and many will say it is its chief merit—it is not written by me at all, but is by the greatest woman who has ever lived and become prominent. That Great Queen—as Cromwell spoke of her—was never commonplace or common with tongue or pen. She was never commonplace or common in any thing at any time.

An account of the inception of the work may be interesting. It took form within a year after I had begun to study Elizabeth's career. The task then was the preparation of her biography; but very early the peculiar flavour of her utterances, their driving force, their incisiveness, their complete difference from those

non solum nihil remiserit de pristina sua benevolentia & observantia erga se, sed etiam suas possessiones vendiderit, ut ipsi pecunia subveniret, & propterea sibi videri aequum ut istius fidei & constantiae jam fructum aliquem ferat. . . ."

of anybody else in history, struck me like a fresh wind in a hot, still day, and I began to catalogue them. They have now, over a decade later, grown into nearly a hundred classifications, among which, to take them alphabetically, appear headings such as Ability, Adroitness, Ambition, Changeableness, Confidence, Courage, Cruelty.

The first circulars announcing *The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth* bore the statement that my next book would be called *The Ability of Queen Elizabeth*. And then, in its splendid review—splendid in its sympathy, appreciation, understanding, and helpfulness—of the first book, the *Spectator* used these words :

“ And now for a specific suggestion. Mr. Chamberlin in his Preface tells us that he is writing a full biography of Queen Elizabeth. That is good news. But as a ‘ side-show ’ like the present work, why should he not bring out a volume of the sayings of the Queen, *Dicta Magnae Reginae*? There are plenty of them, and they all have an extraordinary thrill in them. . . . The book would be read wherever the English language is spoken.”

The publishers at once wrote to urge the point, and in the course of a short period I came to the conclusion that the *Spectator* was right—and hence this book. Once more—just as in the case of *The Private Character*—I am putting out an entirely different volume from that planned years earlier ; and the book to follow this is already assuming a hazy appearance the portent of which I too well know, so that while I am

always working on the complete biography of the Queen and on the similar work concerning Leycester, it is impossible to say yet which of these will first appear or if a third will not displace them both, for the time. If I were to hazard a guess it would be that the third volume in the series will bear some such title as *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, a work which may be made ready for the press in a year or so.

To return to the present book—I had decided, as I have said above, that the second volume for me to put out was one to be called *The Ability of Queen Elizabeth*. The reason for this at the time was that I became more and more impressed with the overwhelming predominance of the Froude tradition—his sole invention—that Burghley was the Great Queen, that she had few if any brains, and that all her tremendous success, the most tremendous in the life of any sovereign in all history, was *his* in reality. In private letters to the posterity of Burghley—to a parent of the Prime Minister who later made him Regius Professor at Oxford—Froude says :

“ He [Burghley], it is more and more clear to me, was the solitary author of Elizabeth’s and England’s greatness. . . . The private letters which passed between him and Walsingham about Elizabeth have destroyed finally the prejudice that still clung to me that, notwithstanding her many faults, she was a woman of ability.”¹ [Froude to Lady Salisbury, October 16, 1864, as far as the above hiatus; thereafter the

¹ Herbert Paul, *Life of Froude*, p. 119.

quotation is from a subsequent letter, whether to her or to Lord Salisbury I am unable to determine.]

To the above we must add this from Froude's *History* :

“ She never modified a course recommended to her by Burghley without injury both to the realm and to herself. She never chose an opposite course without plunging into embarrassments, from which his skill and Walsingham's were barely able to extricate her. The great results of her reign were the fruits of a policy which was not her own, and which she starved and mutilated when energy and completeness were needed.”¹

And at another time he wrote to Lady Salisbury :

“ I shall return from Simancas more a Cecil maniac than ever.”²

There we have it at its best. That is exactly what he is. It can be retorted with equal cogency that I am an Elizabeth maniac ; but both of us cannot be correct. We must stand or fall—and one must go down—on the written evidences we leave.

Grotesque and unfounded as these dogmatic and confident statements of Froude are, they have become the belief of the great majority of mankind because Froude is the only historian of the period who could write well enough to induce the general public to read twelve large volumes about it. As I said in the Introduction to *The Private Character* :

“ Froude is irresistible. He has had few equals as

¹ Froude, *History of England*, vol. xii. p. 559, 1870 Ed.

² Paul, *Life of Froude*, p. 119.

a writer of attractive English prose, and as an alluring historian none at all except Macaulay. His many thousand pages are as fascinating as the best of romances."

I should have omitted "as fascinating as," but could not then bring myself to do it, for Froude deserves a great deal of credit. But so indignant have I become over his faults discovered in the preparation of this volume that I am no longer to mince my words.

It is in this almost uncanny ability of Froude to obtain and enthrall readers that lies his great danger for the true history of Elizabeth. With this rare talent he buried her, in effect, for nearly half a century, because nobody else has written with equal charm the real truth about her ability and her sole control of affairs. The truth cannot make its way against so great a flood of misrepresentation as is in Froude's twelve volumes until the public has been seduced into reading its refutation. The writer who can meet Froude with any hope of success in that arena—not at all the arena of truth against falsity, but of dulness against brilliance—has not appeared. He may never appear in our time, for it is a lifelong task, and the man who, without hope of reward in money or of some secure chair in a university, will give his whole life to such a task is rarely seen; and then, when he be found, he must also prefer this task to every other; and then, still besides these, he must have the determination and the health and the money to do it. So

slowly do I work, I see that perhaps all I shall be able to do is to perform the spadework for the man who will have the interest that I have in re-establishing Elizabeth upon the plane she enjoyed in her lifetime, and who will possess, in addition, the other qualifications mentioned. He will come, sooner or later, and, as Elizabeth said of the slurs upon her character, "the truth will at last be made manifest."

I think the tide now is setting strongly back toward that conclusion. Congreve saw it coming and assisted its progress. I think *The Private Character* has proved a help, but this book, unless I be grievously in the wrong—and it will not by any means be the first time—will do far more than its predecessor in showing the Real Elizabeth. I, at any rate, cannot read these Sayings without the greatest admiration for the woman who uttered them. If I knew only of her that she had said these things, I should be certain that she was a woman of the most extraordinary ability, and of the most extraordinary character.

But *delendus est Froude*—Froude as a historian must be destroyed.

To be sure, amongst scholars there is but little left of him above ground, so far as the truth of his assertions is concerned. No other historian has been so universally condemned by the scholars and so universally popular with the people. But the charges against him have been so vague and so little known as to fail to carry conviction to the public. To them he is still the greatest of his calling.

Hidden in the Appendix to a volume of which the vast majority even of the more serious-minded public has never heard, *England under Protector Somerset*, by Professor Pollard, is this comment upon Froude :

“ It is true he never understood the sanctity of inverted commas, and often prints in inverted commas what is merely an abridgment of the document he is quoting.”

So damning a charge—one practically of barefaced forgery and misrepresentation whether deliberate or not—was never before so gently put. It is the typical university touch. This charge of Pollard is unknown because generally only scholars read such books as the typical university professor produces. No critic discovered it. The book received no notices in the Press at large. That is one of the penalties of accepting university chairs, dignity, and security.

Other noted scholars have said the same thing about Froude—and left the public still in ignorance for the same reasons. Charles Eliot Norton, that typical Harvard professor with the voice so cultivated and so softly and evenly modulated that nobody ever heard it, said that his own reading of the Carlyles' love-letters

“ affords a view of their character and relations to each other different both in particulars and in general effect from that given by Mr. Froude.”¹

The same author was rather more effective in form—but still he could not reach the public—when he said :

¹ *Early Letters*, vol. ii. p. 367.

“Almost every letter in the *Life* [of Carlyle by Froude] which I have collated with the original is incorrectly printed, some of them grossly so.”¹

Froude did the same thing in his *Oceana, or England and her Colonies*. He did it again in his *Life and Letters of Erasmus*.

It is high time that the public became aware of the existence of these utterly destructive verdicts against Froude by far greater and far more celebrated scholars than I am, men of the very highest standing in every country in which scholarship is known and respected. And yet it may be that I shall be the one after all to discover to the *public* the truth of these charges, for I may reach the general reader, something these more celebrated men were not fortunate enough to do. I must drive these aspersions home and prove them, because I must do it in order to establish the truth of my historical works—for there is not room for Froude's work and my own. But before the gall that is thus given to the critics be set down on paper I ask their careful attention to my position and to my evidence that not one word of Froude can be trusted.

In the first place, there is my responsibility toward history, its production and those who read it, and toward myself. I have but one aim in my work—to tell the truth. No Froude romance can approach in universal appeal the charm of the facts as they really were. Froude's picture of Elizabeth as a brainless

¹ *Early Letters*, vol. ii. p. 376.

fool, which she was not, has not a tenth of the drawing power of Elizabeth as the head and front of her government, as she was. Elizabeth as an unhuman giantess without nerves and incapable of physical or mental fatigue, as Froude and all my other predecessors have painted her—such a person as never existed anywhere—has little attraction compared with her lure as a frail woman cursed with inherited ill-health which brought exhaustion at every physical stress and hysterics and fits of unconsciousness at every opposition—just as comes to the experience of nearly all sooner or later who have to face such great crises as fell to her lot.

Writing history is my vocation. Am I under an obligation to tell the truth, no matter who is struck, no matter whose ancestor is criticised by it? I take it that I am so bound. I cannot admit it to be possible for me to alter facts or suppress them to protect the reputation of anybody, living or dead, who was either actor in the great events of the period I am studying or writer of them since. In the writing of English history there has been far too much of protecting the other historians. It is one way to secure and retain influence and promotion. I am free of that necessity. I stand in no man's way, and no man stands in mine. I seek no post. I want none. I want no promotion—and I do not understand that there is any place higher than that I now occupy, except in achievement.

Let me illustrate concretely what I am trying to say. For many years John Bruce, F.S.A., edited the Calendars of Domestic State Papers for 1625-1639—a

great achievement. For almost thirty years this lawyer devoted himself to historical research. He was one of the most competent and learned scholars Great Britain has ever produced. I am about to employ the next decade with a biography of Leycester to the exclusion of every other task. I have promised in *The Private Character* to show that he had more than any other man to do with the great and successful policies of Elizabeth—that he was the leader of the party whose policies eventually triumphed over the doubts of the Great Queen and the active opposition of Burghley, to whom my predecessors have ascribed the very place which only Leycester occupied.

One of the capital events in Leycester's life was his campaign in the Low Countries. It was one of the most important steps by which England sprang into world leadership, for it began the war with Spain, which had to be overridden before hegemony could come. For a quarter of a century Leycester and all the enthusiastic spirits behind him, Walsingham, Drake, Raleigh, and their swashbuckling followers spoiling for a fight just for the love of it and for the sake of their country, had striven in vain to overcome their mistress and the timid hand of Burghley and force them to the final step. At last enthusiasm with danger triumphed over inertia with safety, and Leycester went to fight Philip in Holland. His campaign there has been cruelly and grotesquely misrepresented by every English historian who has dealt with it. I except none, living or dead. There is not a schoolboy in all England who

in densest ignorance of the subject could write of it more fatuously, more recklessly, and more untruly than the best English historians have done, and all for one reason—that they have never taken the time or the pains to study the original documents. Mr. Bruce knew this over fifty years ago. He was Treasurer of the Camden Society, the highest historical society except the Antiquaries in Great Britain, and the one which has done the greatest service of all to historical students through its publications, running into scores of the most valuable volumes of general historical knowledge.

Among a number of these volumes edited by Bruce for the Society is the *Correspondence of Leycester*, a work of over five hundred pages, every word of which seems true. In his Introduction to that volume, p. xlv, he says :

“ The mistakes of our most distinguished historians in reference to the circumstances of Leycester’s conduct in the Low Countries, and especially in reference to his acceptance and retention of the government, are not a little extraordinary. It was thought desirable that I should point out some of the more glaring of those mistakes, and I made some progress in an attempt to do so, but I found the task so distasteful and invidious that I soon abandoned it, and now only recur to the subject as a notice to future inquirers.”

These words were probably written about 1844, the date of the book. I believe I am the first of the “ future inquirers.” At least, I am certain that I am the first to call attention to these words—and certainly nobody

else has so much as written one word to right these great mistakes in all English histories, or to do justice to one of England's most brilliant figures. Were I not engaged upon the task of preparing the truth about this Dutch campaign, how much longer would it be before this rank injustice is set right ?

Now why did not Mr. Bruce demonstrate to the world that " our most distinguished historians " had not told the truth at all about Leycester in this momentous campaign ? We do not know all his reasons—but they were undoubtedly, in the main, to protect his friends or those whom he had to protect. He was paid not only by the Government but, I am told, by the Camden Society. He was Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries. I am informed that he had to maintain these places to live, at least if he were to continue the work he loved. All of " our most distinguished historians " were living—I mean the historians of the period under discussion ; they were connected, some of them certainly, with the Camden Society and the Antiquaries. On the Council of the former with Bruce when the Leycester volume was printed were Wright and Purton Cooper and Ellis, to mention historians of the first class. There were a number of Fellows of the Royal Society on that Board. It comprised a dozen or more Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries.

What would happen to the man officially and socially who made his livelihood out of historical research if he attacked practically every one of " our most dis-

tinguished historians" and demonstrated that what they had written had little or no foundation in truth? It must be said at once that he would be ruined and ostracised, for the very men he would have to expose controlled practically every appointment in his profession, occupied practically every prominent university chair of history, and in one way or another controlled every avenue to promotion and prominence. More; they were probably all his personal friends. He would have been left severely alone. He would have been a marked man, with every popular hand against him. If his friends had tried still to push him forward they would have found *their* places in danger.

There was only one man for such a situation, and that was the one who cared so much for the truth that he did not care what his punishment would be—and Bruce, I am credibly informed, was not that man because he could not be and retain his position and his friends. So for nearly a century millions on millions of English boys and girls have been brought up on historic fables about Leycester in Holland.

Happily I am free. I shall be just as "distasteful and invidious" as is necessary for me to tell the truth. I cannot lose my job, for I pay myself. I am not afraid, socially or otherwise, for I live in my island in the Mediterranean and I am not a "Professor." There is no post on earth that I would accept. I am going to tell the thing exactly as it occurred, and prove it.

In the second place, the public is imbued with the Froude view that the Great Elizabeth was in fact

nobody but Burghley. The facts are all to the contrary. I have set myself the lifelong task of refuting Froude's claim. One of us must go down. Either he must be destroyed or I must be. In the lists alone with such a giant I may lose for a time—but in the end I shall win because I am right and the materials to prove it are as imperishable as is the yearning for truth, and if I am unable to survive to complete the long struggle some successor will do it instead of me.

I therefore ask the public's attention to the following demonstration of the utter unreliability of any sentence in Froude's history which he asserts to be a statement of fact. I shall not rely upon general accusations, but upon specific, exact evidence which anybody who can read can fully understand and adequately weigh. If after studying the evidence I produce there be any unconvinced of my contention, there is no evidence which *will* convince them. Their preconceived estimate of Froude will always remain. They will always think that he did a great thing when he first printed the translation of the Simancas documents. And yet that is the most gratuitous achievement of fame in all the annals of literature.

These documents have been housed for a century in the castle of Simancas in Spain, some seven miles from Valladolid, where for many years before Froude first went there in 1861 there was an English Roman Catholic College filled with English students and professors. Lingard, writing his history in 1820, forty years before

Froude came there, was constantly using extracts from these documents made for him by his co-religionists at Valladolid, and his work contains scores of them thus obtained. In 1832 many were officially published in Spanish in an abbreviated form in a volume by Carvajal, who had long been in charge of them as librarian of the castle ; but his work did not contain them all, or indeed a large proportion of them ; and in the interim between 1820, when Lingard was using them, and the time of Froude's arrival over forty years later, none of those English students and professors, only seven miles away, seized the crown of immortality which was kicking about the gutters of Simancas, and put out these documents to the world. No English student among all those who spent a lifetime in the British Museum seized the marvellous opportunity. They preferred spending the years in the deadening work which only resulted in deepening their obscurity to taking a four or five days' journey at the expense of about as many pounds and a summer's holiday at Simancas, where Fame beckoned to them in vain.

In vain we look, in vain uplift
 Our eyes to heaven, if we are blind ;
 We see but what we have the gift
 Of seeing ; what we bring we find.

It was, I repeat, probably the greatest chance for immortality at the price of the least expenditure of time and money that literature has ever offered ; and after it had gone begging for over a generation Froude

had the initiative to seize it and profit by it to the full—the thing that caused him the least trouble and labour constitutes his chief claim to enduring fame. So it has often happened in literature. *Treasure Island*, undertaken as a sport to entertain a sickly boy, is an apt illustration of the truism that readily occurs to one.

Let me now present my demonstration of the utter worthlessness of Froude as an historical writer. The reader will not have failed to comprehend already that this book has necessitated the comparisons which follow; and I freely confess that bad as was my opinion of Froude, it had never reached the present depths to which I must consign the man. In my foolish faith that he was at least not a deliberate prevaricator, I had put some of his translations and transcriptions into the MS. of this book, congratulating myself that I had thus escaped the particularly onerous and disagreeable task of going to the originals. But when the time came to check each Saying, I soon became uneasy over the presence of phrases which sounded more like the vocabulary and style of Froude than of Elizabeth. I was well punished for my negligence, for a full month had to be expended in ripping out what I had borrowed from him, and replacing it with the correct version, until the entire work was completely de-Frouded; for this is a collection of the Sayings of Elizabeth and not of Froude. After this sad experience at the end of so many years exclusively devoted to Elizabeth's history, how can

I blame the usual reader among the public for not knowing what I have only so lately learned myself ?

Now for the demonstration :

From a large number of instances showing Froude's methods, I begin with his vol. iv., *Everyman* Ed., p. 392, as typical. Elizabeth is there writing Instructions to Mr. Beale, Walsingham's brother-in-law, the Clerk of the Council, to deliver to Mary Stuart, November 1581, six years before her execution.

I present Froude's sentences in the order in which he offers them between quotation marks ; and one by one they are compared with the original, which is in English ; it is the P.R.O. MS., Mary Queen of Scots, Nov. 1581 : Instructions to Mr. Beale. A correct reproduction of the entire document is in the *C.S.P. Scottish*, vol. vi. No. 79, which constitutes the Appendix, Note I., to this volume, if any reader wishes to test the accuracy of my comparison. It is too extensive to print here.

What Froude says Elizabeth wrote.

If she thought to terrify her she would find herself abused.

What Elizabeth actually wrote.

If this proceeds upon a conceit thereby to terrify her, as the only way to draw her to yield to her desire, she shall find herself greatly abused.

If other princes had been as ready to execute the Queen of Scots' intentions as she was to provoke them, she well knew that she would ere this have

If they had been as ready to execute as she was to provoke them to it by such ministers as she has sent abroad throughout Christen-

What Froude says Elizabeth wrote.

tasted of her malice ; but if those princes meddled with her she would know how to make head against them.

What Elizabeth actually wrote.

dom, she had ere this tasted of the fruits of her malice. If it were so that the Princes would be induced, as she imagines, to attempt anything against the Crown of England by forcing her to do that which she should not find agreeable with her safety, she doubts not but she will be able to make ready against them.

If the Queen of Scots had held the same crown, neither England nor Scotland would have been troubled by her.

If she herself [Mary] had held this course of government in Scotland neither England nor Scotland had been troubled with her as they have been.

She would take order to cut off all hope by ordinary course of justice, that he might have hereafter to attain to the crown.

She will take order not only to cut off all hope by ordinary course of justice that they may have hereafter to attain to the said crown but also provide that he shall not be able to annoy her,

She had given just cause to the queen to make profit of her repair thither.

. . . which gave her just cause to make profit of her repair to England.

I choose at random another exemplification of how Froude treats English documents which he assures the public he is quoting exactly :

It is to be found on p. 287 of his vol. v., *Everyman* Ed. It is all within a single set of quotation marks,

with nothing to indicate that the sentences are not consecutive in the original, and for his authority Froude refers his readers to a foot-note which reads as follows : " Speech of the Queen, November 12-22 : Camden. Abridged."

Now then—what has Froude represented ? It is indubitably this : That while he has " abridged," as he says, the original as it is published by Camden, he has, by his use of this single set of quotation marks, warranted us in considering his every word as *exact* and in considering his sentences all in the order in which he puts them, with no deletions whatsoever. I take it this will be admitted by all. His use of the term " abridged " means, then, so far as this quotation from the original Camden is concerned, that he has *extracted* from Camden this solid block out of the chronicler's work.

The reader may now apply the acid test himself to this representation of Froude, for the entire original is reproduced in the foot-note¹ below from Camden, from

¹ " And now though my life hath been dangerously shot at, yet I protest there is nothing hath more grieved me, than that one not differing from me in sex, of like rank and degree, of the same stock, and most nearly allied unto me in blood, hath fallen into so great a crime. And so far have I been from bearing her any ill will, that upon the discovery of certain treasonable practices against me, I wrote unto her secretly that if she would confess them by a private letter unto myself, they should be wrapped up in silence. Neither did I write thus in mind to intrap her, for I knew then as much as she could confess. And even yet, though the matter be come thus far, if she would truly repent, and no man would undertake her cause against me, and if my life alone depended hereupon, and not the safety and welfare of my whole people, I would (I protest unfeinedly) most willingly pardon her. Nay if England might by my death attain a more flourishing Estate and a

the point at which Froude begins his alleged quotation. To save the reader's time, I shall merely in the text

better Prince, I would most gladly lay down my life. For your sakes it is, and for my peoples that I desire to live. As for me, I see no such great cause why I should either be fond to live, or fear to die. I have had good experience of this world, and I know what it is to be a subject and what to be a Sovereign. Good neighbours I have had, and I have met with bad: and in trust I have found treason. I have bestowed benefits upon ill deservers, and where I have done well, have been ill requited. While I call to mind these things past, behold things present, and expect things to come, I hold them happiest that go hence soonest. Nevertheless against such mischiefs as these I put on a better courage than is common to myself, so as whatsoever befall me, death shall not take me unprepared. And as touching these treasons, I will not so pre-judicate myself, or the laws of my Kingdom, as not to think but that she having been the contriver of the same treasons, was bound and liable to the ancient laws though the late act had never been made; which notwithstanding has no ways been made to prejudice her. So far was it from being made to intrap her, that it was rather intended to forwarn her and terrify her from attempting anything against it. But seeing that it was now in force of a law, I thought good to proceed against her according to the same. But you lawyers are so curious in scanning the nice points of the law, and following of precedents and form, rather than expounding the laws themselves, that by exact observing of your form, she must have been indited in Staffordshire, and have holden up her hand at the Barre, and have been tried by a jury of 12 men. A proper course forsooth of trial against a Princess. To avoid therefore such absurdities, I thought it better to refer the examination of so weighty a cause to a good number of the noblest personages of the land, and the Judges of the realm: and all little enough. For we Princes are set as it were upon stages, in the sight and view of all the world. The least spot is soon spied in our garments, a blemish quickly noted in our doings. It behoveth us therefore to be careful that our proceedings be just and honourable. But I must tell you one thing, that by this last Act of Parliament you have brought me to a narrow straight, that I must give order for her death which is a Princess most nearly allied unto me in blood, and whose practices against me have stricken me into so great grief, that I have been glad to absent myself from this Parliament, lest I should increase my sorrow by hearing it spoken of, and not out of fear of any danger—as some think. But yet I will now tell you a secret (though it is well known that I have the property to keep counsaile). It is not long since these eyes of mine saw and read an oath, wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a month. Hereby, I see your danger

give a comparison of the original sentences themselves devoid of their context with Froude's version of them.

Now for the comparison, sentence by sentence and word for word :

What Froude says Camden wrote.

Her life had now been dangerously shot at, and nothing had grieved her more than that a person of her own sex, of the same rank and degree, and nearly allied to her in blood, had fallen into so great a crime.

What Camden actually wrote.

Though my life hath been dangerously shot at, yet I protest there is nothing hath more grieved me, than that one not differing from me in sex, of like rank and degree, of the same stock, and most nearly allied unto me in blood, hath fallen into so great a crime.

So far was she from bearing the Queen of Scots ill will, that she had written secretly to her that if she would confess her fault her practices should be wrapped in silence.

And so far have I been from bearing her any ill will, that upon the discovery of certain treasonable practices against me, I wrote unto her secretly that if she would confess

in me which I will be very careful to avoid. Your Association for my safety I have not forgotten, which I never so much as thought of till a great number of bonds with many obligations were shewed me : which as I do acknowledge as a strong argument of your true hearts and great zeal to my safety, so shall my bond be stronger tied to a greater care for your good. But forasmuch as this matter now in hand is very rare and of greatest consequence, I hope you do not look for any present resolution : for my manner is in matters of less moment than this, to deliberate long upon that which is once to be resolved. In the mean time I beseech Almighty God to illuminate my mind that I may foresee that which may serve for the good of his Church, the prosperity of the Commonwealth and your safety. And that delay may not breed danger, we will signify our resolution with all conveniency. And what ever the best subjects may expect at the hands of the best Princess, that expect from me to be performed to the full."—Camden, Book iii., 1630 Ed., pp. 98, 99.

What Froude says Camden wrote.

What Camden actually wrote.

them by a private letter unto myself, they should be wrapped up in silence.

Even now, if the Queen of Scots would repent, and if there were no other interests in the matter but her own, she would still willingly pardon her.

[Another sentence intervenes between the last above and the following one.]

And even yet, though the matter be come thus far; if she would truly repent, and no man would undertake her cause against me, and if my life alone depended hereupon, and not the safety and welfare of my whole people, I would (I protest unfeignedly) most willingly pardon her.

Nay, if England might by her own death attain a more flourishing estate and a better prince, she would gladly lay down her life.

Nay if England might by my death attain a more flourishing Estate and a better Prince, I would most gladly lay down my life.

She cared to keep it only for her people's sake.

For your sakes it is, and for my peoples that I desire to live.

For herself, she saw no great cause why she should be fond to live or fear to die.

As for me, I see no such great cause why I should either be fond to live, or fear to die.

She was in a cruel position.

[Over a dozen sentences intervene between the last and the following.]

But I must tell you one thing, that by this last Act of

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*What Froude says Camden
wrote.*

She was called on to order the death of a kinswoman, whose practices had caused her deep distress.

Her situation was so unprecedented, and the matter itself of so great moment, that she trusted an immediate resolution would not be demanded of her.

In concerns less important than the present she was accustomed to deliberate long upon that which was once to be resolved.

She promised to pray God to illuminate her mind to foresee what would be for the good of the Church and commonwealth,

*What Camden actually
wrote.*

Parliament you have brought me to a narrow straight.

I must give order for her death which is a Princess most nearly allied unto me in blood, and whose practices against me have stricken me into so great grief, that I have been glad to absent myself from this Parliament, lest I should increase my sorrow by hearing it spoken of, and not out of fear of any danger—as some think.

[Several long sentences intervene between the above and the following.]

But forasmuch as this matter now in hand is very rare and of greatest consequence, I hope you do not look for any present resolution: . . . [The next is the balance of the sentence.]

. . . for my manner is in matters of less moment than this to deliberate long upon that which is once to be resolved.

In the mean time I beseech Almighty God to illuminate my mind that I may foresee that which may serve for the good of his Church, the pros-

*What Froude says Camden
wrote.*

*What Camden actually
wrote.*

perity of the Commonwealth
and your safety.

and admitting that there would
be danger in delay, she under-
took to give her answer with
due conveniency.

And that delay may not
breed danger, we will signify
our resolution with all con-
veniency.

We can now render a verdict.

1. The original speech was entirely in the first person, and it was thus printed by Camden from whom Froude says he is quoting.
2. His sentences are not consecutive, as he represented them to be.
3. He has printed eleven sentences, and, disregarding entirely his continuous use of the third person when the original was only in the first, in none of the eleven sentences he pretends to quote has he quoted correctly.

So much for Froude's reliability as a quoter of the plainest English documents.

Let us now proceed to examine him as a translator, taking first a relatively mild case of perversion.

On p. 236 of the Everyman Ed. of his history, vol. ii., Froude prints a document which he introduces thus :

“Elizabeth, to give it emphasis, wrote to Mary [Queen of Scots] with her own hand :”

Froude's translation of the French original is appended, side by side with the corresponding sen-

tences of the latter, literally translated, which is subsequently reproduced *in extenso* in Appendix, Note II.¹

What Froude says Elizabeth wrote.

Madam, my ears have been so astounded, my mind so disturbed, my heart so shocked at the news of the abominable murder of your late husband, that even yet I can scarcely rally my spirits to write to you; and however I would express my sympathy in your sorrow for his loss, so, to tell you plainly what I think, my grief is more for you than for him.

A literal translation of the original.

Madam, my ears have been so astounded, my intelligence so grieved, and my heart so dismayed to hear the horrible news of the abominable murder of your late husband and my slain cousin, that even yet I have not the heart to write of it [*que quasi encores n'ay de l'esprit den escriver*] and however much my nature constrains me to mourn his death [*et combien que mon naturel me contraniet de condoler sa mort*], belonging so nearly to me by blood—if I am to speak boldly to you that which I think [*si est ce que vous dire hardyment ce que j'en pense*]
—I cannot hide that I am more sorry [*je ne puis celer que je ne soye plus dolente*] for you than for him.

Oh, madam, I should ill fulfil the part either of a faithful cousin or of an affectionate friend, if I were to content myself with saying pleasant things to you and made no effort to preserve your honour.

O madam, I should not fill the office of faithful cousin or affectionate friend if I studied rather to please your ears than to employ myself in preserving your honour.

I cannot but tell you what all the world is thinking.

Therefore I shall not hide from you that which the majority of people are saying

¹ Professor Eccles of London University kindly deciphered this difficult MS.

What Froude says Elizabeth
wrote.

A literal translation of the
original.

of it : [*pourtant je ne vous
celeray point ce que la plus
part de gens en parlent :*]

Men say that, instead of that you will look between
seizing the murderers, you are your fingers at revenge for
looking through your fingers this deed, [*c'est que vous re-
garderez entre vos doigtz sur la
revenge de cest¹ facte,²*]

that you will not punish those and have no inclination to
who have done you so great punish those who have given
a service, as though the thing you such pleasure, as if the
would never have taken place thing had not been committed
had not the doers of it been unless the murderers had
assured of impunity. known their safety for it.
[*comme si la chose n'eust esté
commise sans que les meurtriers
en eussent sceu leur assurance.*]

For myself, I beseech you For my part, believe, I beg
to believe that I would not you, that I would not wish
harbour such a thought for such a thought should dwell
all the wealth of the world, in my heart ; for all the gold
nor would I entertain in my of the world I would never
heart so ill a guest, or think have so ill a guest lodge in my
so badly of any prince that heart as to have so bad an
breathes. Far less could I opinion of any prince what-
so think of you, to whom I ever, much less shall I have
desire all imaginable good, it of her to whom I wish as
and all blessings which you much good as my heart can
yourself could wish for. imagine or as you yourself

¹ "*Ceste*" was apparently written first, and then the *e* crossed out.

² The *e* in this word is a curious slip. The word should be "*faict*," but no *i* appears.

What Froude says Elizabeth wrote.

A literal translation of the original.

could ask. [*beaucoup moins lauray je de ceste la a qui je soubhaite aultant de bien qui mon cuer pourra imaginer ou que vous mesmes scauriez soubhaiter.*]

But for this very reason I exhort, I advise, I implore you deeply to consider of the matter—

Wherefore, I exhort you, I counsel you, and I beg you to take this thing so much to heart [*Pourtant¹ je vous exhorte, je vous conseille et vous supplie de prendre ceste chose tellement a cuer*]

at once, if it be the nearest friend you have, to lay your hands upon the man who has been guilty of the crime

that you do not fear to strike the very nearest that you have if he be implicated, [*que nayez peur de toucher voyre le plus proche quayez sil² le touche,*]

—to let no interest, no persuasion, keep you from proving to every one that you are a noble princess and a loyal wife.

and that no persuasion bar you from making an example to the world that you both are a noble princess and were a true wife.

I do not write thus earnestly because I doubt you, but for the love which I bear towards you.

I do not write so vehemently for doubt I have of it, but for the affection I bear you in particular ;

You may have wiser counsellors than I am—I can well believe it—

for I am not ignorant that you have wiser counsellors than I ; [*car je ne suis ignorant que nayez de plus sages conseillers que moy ;*]

¹ “*Pourtant*” seems to bear the older sense of “*pour ces motifs*”—not the modern sense of “*cependant*.”

² “*S’il*,” a slip for “*si elle*”—(*ceste chose*).

What Froude says Elizabeth wrote.

A literal translation of the original.

but even our Lord, as I remember, had a Judas among the twelve: while I am sure that you have no friend more true than I,

yet when I remember that our Lord amongst twelve had one Judas, and assure myself that one more faithful than I there cannot be,

and my affection may stand you in as good stead as the subtle wits of others.

I offer you my affection in place of their prudence. [*je vous offre mon affection au lieu de leur prudence.*]

To take so plain a French sentence as “*c’est que vous regarderez entre vos doigtz sur la revenge de cest acte*” and embroider it until it reads “Men say that, instead of seizing the murderers, you are looking through your fingers while they escape” is not translating.

Froude has not translated the letter. He has written it. Froude’s is not a letter from Elizabeth to Mary but from Froude to Mary. It is untrue when Froude says “Elizabeth, to give it emphasis, wrote to her [Mary Queen of Scots] with her own hand” this letter of Froude’s. He prints the *substance* of the letter—we grant him this much—with the guaranty that he has used its exact words when in fact he has largely discarded them and replaced them with much better ones of his own—who can deny it? Yet, strange as it would seem to Froude, we prefer to have the originals.¹

¹ The *Cal. Scottish Papers*, vol. ii. p. 316, 1567, and Frank Arthur Mumby in his *The Fall of Mary Stuart*, p. 199, both print the follow-

But the above comparison is nothing to some of the devices Froude resorted to, as I shall now establish.

I pass to another illustration, happily a short one—one of the most famous and widely copied of all Froude's millions of sentences. It is in almost every book since written about Elizabeth. It is to be found in the *Everyman* Ed., vol. i. p. 448. De Silva, the Ambassador of Philip II. at Elizabeth's Court, on the 9th of October 1564 wrote to his master from London a long letter, now at Simancas, in which Froude says occur the following words of Elizabeth: they refer to her assertion that she and Leicester had been slandered because they were young:

“God knows they do us grievous wrong, and the time will come when the world will know it also. I do not live in a corner—a thousand eyes see all that I do and calumny will not fasten on me for ever.”

ing as the correct version of the letter, with nothing to indicate that it is incomplete:

“Madame! My ears have been so astounded [*estourdier*] and my heart so frightened to hear of the horrible and abominable murder of your ‘*feu mary et mon tue* [?] cousin,’ that I have scarcely spirit to write: yet I cannot conceal that I grieve more for you than him. I should not do the office of a faithful cousin and friend, if I did not urge you to preserve your honour, rather than look through your fingers at revenge on those who have done you ‘*tel plaisir*,’ as most people say. I counsel you so to take this matter to heart, that you may show the world what a noble princess and loyal woman you are. I write thus vehemently not that I doubt, but for affection. As for the three matters communicated by Melville, I understand your wish to please me, and that you will grant the request by Lord Bedford in my name to ratify the treaty made 6 or 7 years past. On other things I will not trouble you at length, referring you to the report of this gentleman.”

A more important pronouncement Elizabeth never made, when we are looking for evidences of her real character. The world, then, wants her real words.

Here they are from the original record of them :

“ Mas Dios sabe que es gran maldad y vendrá por este tiempo que lo entenderá el mundo y mi vida no es en oscuro, sino que tengo tantos testigos que no sé como viéndola se haga juicio tan malo ”!

I do not merely ask acceptance of my word that these phrases are still decipherable in the original, for there is better authority—the official Spanish publication, containing the Simancas papers, the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, vol. lxxxix. p. 47 : Madrid, 1887.

A literal translation of the Spanish is :

“ But God knows that it is a great iniquity, and the time will come when the world will know it ; my life is not in the dark, and I have so many witnesses that I cannot see how so ill a judgment can have been made of me.”¹

Let us examine several other examples.

On p. 390 of his second volume (Everyman Ed.) Froude undertakes to quote from a letter to Mary Queen of Scots. The original is in French, and so much of it as refers to this pretended translation is below in the foot-note.²

¹ For another correct translation see that of M. A. S. Hume, editor of the *Cal. S.P. Simancas*, Oct. 9, 1564, vol. i. p. 384.

² P.R.O. MS., Mary Queen of Scots, June 30, 1568 ; also imperfectly translated in *Cal. of Scottish Papers*, vol. ii. p. 448, the version reading : “ You surely doubt my wisdom in asking for such a thing as to let the

What Froude says Elizabeth wrote.

What Elizabeth actually wrote.

"She was not wise but she was not so wholly bereft of her senses as to allow the chatellain of Dumbarton," [the remainder of the sentence Froude does not place between the quotation marks] the one fortress in Scotland which was open to reception of a French force, to go on a mission the object of which could be only the introduction of the French into the country.

Thus it is that however much I know I am not wise, yet should I wish so to be thought, such a thing would not be possible were I to permit the guardian of such a place as he holds to go thither, it being too well known to be the only fort which at this hour the French can enter.

The next comparison to which I shall ask your attention arises in Froude's first volume of the *Everyman* Ed., p. 100, where he purports to quote from a document which he describes as "De Quadra to the Emperor, October 3 : MS. Simancas" :

What Froude says de Quadra wrote. (All sentences are continuous.)

What de Quadra actually wrote.¹

If the emperor would have me for a daughter-in-law, let him send over his son to see I think that if the emperor so desires me for a daughter he would not be doing too

keeper of such a place to go there, being at this moment the only strength where the French can enter."

The French original is as follows :

"C'est que combien que ne me cognois pour sage, sy est ce que je souhaisterois qu'on me la pensast telle chose que ne se pourroit guaires faire, si je permectois le gardien dung tel lieu qu'il tient de y aller, estant trop bien cogneu d'estre le seul fort a ceste heure ou les francois peuent entrer."

¹ From the original at Simancas. A correct—except that it is incomplete—translation is in the *Cal. S.P. Simancas*, vol. i. p. 97, at

What Froude says de Quadra wrote. (All sentences are continuous.)

What de Quadra actually wrote.

me. I am a queen and a lady. I cannot ask a man to come to England and marry me. I would die a thousand deaths first. Others marry for interest; I if possible would marry for affection.

much by sending his son here without so many safeguards. I do not hold myself of so small account that the Emperor need sacrifice any dignity in doing it. [De Quadra—omitting a sentence—then adds as his own] . . . They think that your Majesty wishes your son to be supplicated and summoned, which she said she would never do; she would rather die a thousand deaths. [There is no sentence in the letter corresponding to the last sentence opposite. Nor have I ever noted such authority in anything at Simancas.]

“His highness cannot come,” replied De Quadra, [An entire half-page of printing here intervenes.] She “without some assurance that smiled and said that she pre-

middle of p. 99. The letter is one day earlier in date than as given by Froude. The original Spanish document reads:

“‘A mi me parece que si el Emperador tanto desease tomarme por hija no haria mucho en enviar aqui su hijo sin tantas cautelas, porque no me tengo de tan poco merecimiento que S.M. no pudiese hacer esto sin perder honra en ello.’ Lo que destas palabras y del modo de declararlas yo entendi era que ella no hacia dificultad en la conclusion del negocio, sino en la manera de proceder en él, en la cual les parece que se vá con ella en puntillos, y que V.M. quiere que su hijo sea rogado y llamado; lo cual dijo que no lo haria, ántes se dejaria morir mil muertes, porque dice que á una Reina y doncélla no le está bien llamar á nadie que venga á casarse por su contentamiento, que es lo que Milady Sidney me ha dicho muchas veces.”—*Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, tomo lxxxvii. p. 237: Obispo de Aquila á su Majestad el Emperador, su Fecha 2 de Octubre de 1559.

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What Froude says de Quadra wrote. (All sentences are continuous.)

What de Quadra actually wrote.

it will not displease your majesty."

Elizabeth smiled.

vented no one from coming to her realm.

"England," she said, "is free to all the world to come and go. If he has no fear but that, he may come when he will :

[There is nothing in the original letter upon which the last sentence opposite can be based, and other foundation for it has not been found.]

[Nothing that follows in this column can be found at all in the original MS. Sentences resembling those below, however, do exist, as those opposite to them show—but these latter are entirely from a *later* letter ; so that here one sees Froude quoting from *two* documents that which he says is from only *one*. His books contain many examples of this practice, and I have seen a quotation of his which is composed of excerpts from *three* separate documents, although he represents them as *all* within a single one.]¹

¹ Froude, Everyman Ed., vol. i. p. 69 : de Quadra to Philip II., July — ; the 1st paragraph is from a letter of July 12, the 2nd paragraph is from a letter of de Quadra of July or August 13, while the last paragraph is from another letter of de Quadra of July 27. To prove this the reader is referred to *Cal. S.P. Spanish*, vol. i. pp. 84-5, 89, and 91, respectively, where the letters dated as above will be found.

Usually Froude pursues a single plan in this legerdemain. When he offers you a single document, such as that of which I have just spoken, although it is *really three* documents, he gives only a *monthly* date for his

What Froude says de Quadra wrote in the above letter.

What de Quadra actually wrote, but in a later letter.

but I am afraid he may not be contented with me."

she feared he might not be satisfied with her.

"A person so gifted by nature as your majesty," said the smooth bishop, "need have no alarm on that score."

"I mean," replied the queen, with some embarrassment—"I mean, he may hear things said of me which may not please him."

I said that could not be as she was so well endowed by nature, and other things to the same effect, whereupon she replied that he might not be dissatisfied with what he saw but with what he heard about her, as I knew there were people in the country who took pleasure in saying anything that came into their heads about her.

"Let not your majesty trouble yourself about that," said De Quadra. "We know too well what really passes in this court to be moved by idle rumours. Had we given credit to the talk of the world, we should not have desired to see the archduke here."

This she said with some signs of shame, and I answered that we who were treating of the Emperor's business were not so badly informed that we did not know something of what was necessary in deciding the affair, and Her Majesty might be assured that if there were anything which the Archduke should not hear or learn, the idea of his coming would not have been entertained by us, and this being so, she could understand thereby the

patchwork in cases where all the documents (in this instance three) fall within that one month. For example, in the case just cited, he gives the date of his letter as "July —" because, I take it, the *three* letters he has used to make his *one* are all dated in that month, or may be so.

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*What Froude says de Quadra
wrote in the above letter.*

*What de Quadra actually
wrote, but in a later letter.*

high esteem in which your
Majesty had always held
her.¹

And now for the final exemplar of Froude's manner of working. It is so astounding that I shall publish the documents to be compared *in extenso*. If Froude can be said, after the following examination, to be reliable, or honest, or an historian at all in the true sense of the word, it will very much surprise me.

This comparison came to my attention very late in the preparation of this book—indeed after the first draft of this very page had been in type for some weeks—when I was finally checking through each Saying to test its reliability. I opened Chapter XXII.

¹ From the original at Simancas. Cf. *Cal. S.P. Simancas*, vol. i. p. 104, No. 65, 2nd paragraph:

“ . . . me dijo que ella no osaba hacerle venir porque tenia que no se descontentase della; y diciéndola yo que esto no podia ser, siendo ella tan bien dotada de la naturaleza, y otras cosas á este propósito, me replicó que ya podria ser que no le descontentase lo que viese y le descontentase lo que oyese decir della, porque yo sabia que en su Reino habia gentes que se holgaban de decir lo que se les antojaba della, lo cual me dijo con alguna señal de vergüenza; yo le respondí que no estábamos tan mal informados los que tratabamos de los negocios del Emperador que dejásemos de saber algo de lo que importaba que se entendiese en ellos, y que podia S.M. creer que si alguna cosa hubiese aquí que al Archiduque no le compliese oír ó entender, no se trataria de su venida; y que si esto era así, podia entenderlo ella de la cuenta que V.M. habia hecho siempre della y de la opinion en que la ha tenido.”—Del Obispo de Aquila a su Majestad. Fecha en Londres á 5 de Octubre de 1559. *Col. de Docs. Inéd.*, vol. lxxxvii. p. 245. Also Archiveo General de Simancas, Sec. de Estado, Leg. 812, fol. 134.

—Retorts—with this Saying, placed in my notebooks a decade ago when reading Froude :

“ I ’ll take a husband who will make the King of France’s head ache ; he little knows what a buffet I can give him.”

As I read it several months ago it seemed to me to sound more like Froude, and while I felt fairly certain that I had long before completely de-Frouded the entire work, I could take no chances of error upon so important a matter, and so I took down Froude, Everyman Ed., vol. i. p. 70, and found that he had given the sentence as part of a letter which de Quadra, the Spanish Ambassador in London, had sent in July 1559 to Philip II. On referring to the original Spanish document, I found the Saying contained no such words as “ headache ” or “ buffet,” and that the only possible translation of the sentence was :

“ I ’ll take a husband who will make the King of France a good deal of trouble [*que ella tomara un marido del cual pesase mucho al rey de Francia*] and it will cause him more harm than he thinks [*y que le pudiese hacer mas dano del que agora pensaba*].”

No wonder Froude is the most popular historian who ever wrote ! No wonder the whole world applauded him and applauds him still for being the first to give to it these wonderful Simancas documents ! They are, indeed, wonderful !—for they are the first ancient documents the world has ever seen written by a man living three centuries after their actual composition !

Now the quotation containing this astonishing exhibition of reckless mendacity is one of a series of eight consecutive Simancas letters which in Froude's work fill some five pages, prefixed with these words (p. 65): "The state of parties in England, the court intrigues, the plans and schemes of the Catholics, the political aspect of the situation when the Acts of Parliament were passed and the queen had finally committed herself to the Reformation, will be seen most clearly in the correspondence between the Spanish ambassador in London, Philip II., De Feria, the Duke of Alva, and the Bishop of Arras." The eight letters then follow, one right after the other, without a single word between them. There is no mark to indicate that even a word is omitted in the composition of one of the eight, so Froude represents that not only is he printing a correct translation but a correct translation of eight entire documents. The last of the series is the following. For the original Spanish see the Appendix, Note III.:

*The letter according to
Froude.*

*The letter according to the
original.*

DE QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

LONDON, *July —.*

Thomas Randolph has come in haste from France to say that the dauphin, after having publicly assumed the royal arms of England, is about to be proclaimed King of Scotland, England, and Ireland.

The queen, when she heard

On the 27th and 28th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty. About three days since, Thomas Randolph, brother of the Randolph one of your Majesty's servants, arrived here from France and at once went to see the Queen. He

*The letter according to
Froude.*

it, said that she would take a husband who should make the King of France's head ache, and that he little knew what a buffet she could give him. The Earl of Arran is in England and near London; Cecil has gone secretly from Greenwich to see him, and we shall soon hear more. She would not have received him here with the certainty that she was giving mortal offence to the French if it were not a settled thing that the earl was to be more than a guest. I have my spies about the queen's person; I know every word that she says; I know the exact sum of money which Cecil took with him. The discontent grows and spreads. The northern counties refuse the new Prayer-book. Rebellion is not far off.

*The letter according to the
original.*

told her how the Dauphin had ordered the arms of England to be emblazoned with his own in many places, and it was said he would shortly proclaim himself king of England. Randolph says that after the Queen had heard all about it, she told him that she would take a husband who would give the king of France much trouble, and do him more harm than he expects. She gave him 200 ducats and ordered him to return to France immediately. He was to leave last night.

I hear that the duke of Chatelherault is in England and very near London. The day before yesterday, Cecil, after having been in and out several times with advices for the Queen, left Greenwich suddenly with only two servants. I have been unable to find out whither he has gone, although I have tried to do so in several ways; but the accounts all differ. I am sure he has gone to speak with the Duke, and we shall soon have news of this marriage, for it is not to be believed that they would have received the Duke at such a time as this and endanger their friendship with the

*The letter according to
Froude.*

*The letter according to the
original.*

French unless the thing were settled, and he was to be something more than a guest.

The person who says the Duke is here is John Alee, a connection of the Queen, who is leaving for Italy to-morrow, that he may not see what is going on here. He is ordered by the Queen to visit the duchess of Lorraine on his way and tell her that if she will come to England, the Queen will be glad to receive her and will be grateful for the visit. I have not been able to discover whether the invitation is sent out of friendship or for some private business, but I get my information from John Alee himself.

They say that the Queen has news of religious disturbances in the North Country, where they refuse to receive the new church service. I know for certain that in the diocese of Winchester they have not received it and will not take the oath, and that all is in confusion. They dare not press them. There is no news from Scotland, as they say there is a prohibition against writing or travelling into England.

These people are hurrying on the collection of money,

*The letter according to
Froude.*

*The letter according to the
original.*

and are pressing for anticipated payments if only for a month before they are due ; a sure sign that they think they may want money before long.

The French ambassador is anxious. He has sent a gentleman to France as well as two or three couriers in the last few days, and he sends people to me to learn what is going on here and to know what your Majesty thinks of this Queen. He is surprised that she has not sent an ambassador to your Majesty's court, and he announces the great severity of his King against the heretics. He even says that his King wants to burn all Geneva to gain the goodwill of the Catholics.

They have taken the bishop of Lincoln out of the Tower, as he was very ill.—London, 1st July, 1559.¹

Now we do not want Froude's version of these old documents. We want that of their veritable author—and our ground of complaint is that Froude said he was giving us the latter when as a matter of fact he was only giving us the former. This is our complaint about his entire work. It is filled with

¹ Cf. *Cal. S.P. Simancas*, vol. i. p. 81.

hundreds of pages which he says are quotations from English, French, Spanish, Italian, Flemish papers. No other historian has used so many documents *in extenso*. According to my rough estimate, they fill between one-fourth and one-half of all his production. I doubt if there be one of his so-called quotations which is correct. But, if this be too sweeping, we must agree upon this—that after the demonstration herein made of his methods we can never again be sure that any document he quotes may be properly so termed. I doubt if there be a man living who, after reading this Introduction, would dare to print as correct, over his own name, without first seeing the original or its equivalent, any document as it appears in the twelve volumes of Froude.

I am not referring to errors. No book can ever be perfect. In my works I have made as bad mistakes as anybody—the very worst in the book to which I gave the greatest care and to prevent errors in which I took the most extraordinary precautions. I became so careful that my mind would not see the separate words although they were fastened on the page. Nine expert readers failed to find the thing, and of hundreds of reviewers only one mentioned that he had seen it. *The Private Character* was in its third edition before a reader of an unusually careful mind wrote to call attention to its existence. There are, it is certain, errors in this book. I do not know where they are.

Twelve literary friends have tried to eliminate them, but I must in the last resort rely upon other friends, readers, and—I nearly said enemies, but will only say kindly critics, to point them out to be corrected in later editions, if any there be.

Errors, then, can and must be excused among the million things that have to be done to produce a finished book. These in Froude I would overlook. But that is not the difficulty at all. He has adopted deliberately a plan of work which is based upon the doctrine that to make his book more attractive and so appeal to more of the public than the productions of the ordinary historical author, he will rewrite the thousands of documents he is to quote, so that, instead of being the dullest of foot-notes, as they were in the rival books, they will become the best pages of his work. In other words, Froude knew that if he could write not only his text but his documents too, he would make the most powerful history in the language. He was correct there—and he could not resist the temptation—and he did not; but while the scholars, who do not buy books, found him out, the great public, which does buy them, made him the most famous historian of his time and paid him a fortune. As I have said earlier, reputable historians exposed him, but not in places known to the public. Freeman attacked him for his *views*. That was a shaft not directed to his heel. Pollard, Norton, and all the other university men who knew his guilt took correct

1 THE SAYINGS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

aim, but their shafts never brought the hero down far enough for the public to see him fall. The public, until now, is generally unaware even that they shot at him.

For nearly three-fourths of a century Froude has escaped paying the penalty—but he is not to escape longer. He had a relatively safe period for the first half of these long years, for the *Calendar of State Papers* containing the Simancas documents did not begin publication until 1892, and nobody went to Simancas from England to compare the originals with these fanciful translations of the famous man. The official publication by the Spaniards, the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, only reached the period treated by Froude's work some ten years earlier—so he escaped ALL attack reaching the knowledge of the public for nearly forty years because its members had no publications with which to compare him; and for the last thirty-odd years he has escaped because nobody has had sufficient interest to expose him convincingly. If I had not come along now, how many more years would have passed before the truth would “at last be made manifest”?—and it is largely upon his so-called translations of these very Simancas documents we have been examining and proving utterly worthless that Froude's fame rests as an original worker. As translations they are not worth the paper upon which they are printed—as I have said before, they are not translations at all.

This is the only proper title-page for Froude's twelve volumes :

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE FALL OF WOLSEY

TO

THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

THE TEXT

AND

ALL ANCIENT DOCUMENTS

BY

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD

* * * * *

The fact that this book is unprecedented will not escape the most casual reader. There have, in all literature, been hardly more than several books of considerable size which have come down to us from the ancients or later called or composed of "Sayings." It is strange that it should be so, yet so it is. There is that of one of our oldest friends, Marcus Aurelius, with five hundred quotations from his conversations and observations, filling some 160 pages. There is the less-known Enchiridion of Epictetus, the Greek philosopher of Hierapolis, a very small volume in *decimo* of less than 60 pages, with some 190 Sayings—an epitome, in reality, of the large work of four volumes known as *The Discourses of Epictetus*, far less

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read. For the third—and I believe there is none other unless we add a volume appearing after this was in type, entitled *Maximes de Napoléon*, by Frederiks—we must go to the greatest of them all, judged by its effect upon succeeding ages, that of Khoung-Fou-Tseu, the great Chinese whose name we have corrupted into Confucius. The book is usually read in the French translation—splendidly done—by Pauthier, 1846, under the title *LES SSE CHOU*. It is in small *decimo*, of 500 pages, only twenty-four of which are filled by the great philosopher; but I know of no other twenty-four pages to which I can compare them for profundity. To one who approaches them for the first time they are astounding.

But, few as these possible precedents are, they lack control, for this work is predicated upon a different basis—to discover the character and sketch in broad lines the biography of its subject with her own Sayings. The great Roman Emperor, the Phrygian philosopher, and Epictetus have had their Sayings preserved because they were brilliant, deep, axiomatic. The Sayings of Elizabeth are herein presented because they picture her life in indubitable strokes made by herself. She cannot escape their verdict. As she herself said when she realised that she was about to die: “I am tied with a chain of iron about my neck. I am tied, I am tied,” so these Sayings are tied about her neck. They tell the truth.

They prove her great and small. They prove her broad and narrow. They prove her patient and irrit-

able. They prove her slow and fast. They prove her strong and weak. They prove her bold and cautious. They prove her cruel and kind. They prove her brave and timid. They prove her hard and yielding. They prove her resolute and vacillating. They prove her direct and tortuous. They prove her steadfast and shifting. They prove her generous and miserly. They prove her constant and fickle. They prove her proud and modest. They prove her vain and simple. They prove her trustworthy and faithless. They prove her a good friend and a bad friend. They prove her loyal and treacherous. They prove her a saint and a murderess. They prove her truthful and a liar. They prove her sincere and a hypocrite. They prove her Catholic and Protestant. They prove her with only *one* principle—to make her country great! She blusters or cringes, she weeps or laughs, she prays or curses, she coos or rants, she threatens or bows—her words show it beyond any question—as the exigencies of her policy demanded at the moment. She had *no* policy, as her words themselves show, except to do whatever seemed necessary at the moment.

She believed in the doctrine, as her words declare, that every Englishman belonged to the State—some were born to be destroyed for it, some to be exalted for it—and her words prove that she struck as readily as she caressed, and thought no more of the one than of the other. She was the incarnation of the State—helpless to be blind or merciful if the interests of the

State demanded punishment. She used all men as pawns with which to win her game—but it was not hers in the true sense—it was the game of ENGLAND. To win that, as these Sayings show, she would do anything. But, above all, these Sayings prove her a tremendous personality, a really great ruler !

This is my idea of what a biography should do—to tell the truth, no matter what that truth is.

While writing this Introduction, I have been interested to see the views of a certain man whom we still call a noble lord as to how a biography should be written. As he has never produced one, he tells us how it should be done in a Sunday paper, accompanied with a picture of him illuminated with a large *boutonnière*—for something illuminating about the essay was certainly required. He observes that if he had written the life of a certain man he would “ have said little or nothing of his physical insignificance. He was small and delicate, but to have said so would have detracted from the charm to which I should have wished my readers to thrill.” Well, they wouldn’t have thrilled, because they wouldn’t have read ; so it is just as well that he never undertook the task. It would not have been a biography at all if it ignored the man’s physical appearance and effect. Nothing has greater influence upon one’s career than his appearance. To have left that out altogether, as this man would have done, would have been to render the book absolutely worthless, and the public would have dropped it before it had read it.

No—if one is to write biography, write it or let it alone. There is neither friend nor foe in the work. There is but one rule—*the truth*.

One word more and I am done : I was obliged at a late hour to inject into the volume hundreds of citations for the Sayings. I began with the plan to omit these disfigurements, but twelve friends who read the proofs united in declaring that unless I showed where these Sayings came from I should be designated as the greatest liar of my time—I am sorry I cannot reproduce their exact words by way of revenge—for nobody would ever believe that these thousands of pithy sentences had been lying about for three hundred years until I collected them, unless I proved it. So I had to succumb and pepper about—to adopt Kipling's phrase when confronted with a similar problem—as many citations and authorities as I could put in and not make them the most prominent features of the whole work. Where the authority is obvious or readily found from its context or from the introduction to the Saying, it has been omitted—but all are easily accessible that are not accompanied by the exact statement of their whereabouts.

As a rule, I have modernised the ancient spelling, which would only annoy the usual reader ; but enough has been left as it was set down to show about what the originals were like.

A word as to the translations : They aim to be literal where that is possible, that is, word for word, tense for tense. There has been no Froudeing to im-

prove on the originals. They have to be in modern English. I had some wild thought of putting them into Elizabethan English, but the absurdity of the plan developed as soon as it was applied. Sayings from foreign documents are always translations—as are Sayings to foreign Ambassadors. To prevent doubt I have often appended an indication that the Saying was, in fact, a translation. All the Sayings by Fénelon are to be found in the seven volumes of his diplomatic correspondence collected by Cooper.

The reader will appreciate that the problem of *format* has been most vexatious and anxious. The observations of the printers when they first saw the MS. and my delight at showing them something new in the way of a problem in type-setting may be imagined. The publishers epitomised the views of the former as mere damnation. Having set type myself, I can appreciate their feelings. But they have, I think, reached correct decisions, usually contrary to my own. Then there was the problem of the size of the volume. At first I thought to make it complete—but I soon found that that would make it too long to be read—and there is no use in printing books that people will not read. There had to be Sayings enough but no more—and I have done my best to find that point ; but I shall know far more about that three months hence.

I cannot close these remarks without testifying my gratitude to three friends who have helped me to an almost unbelievable degree : Mrs. Hamilton Price,

INTRODUCTION

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Major George G. Whiffin, late of The Queen's, and John Philip Collins—and I am not a pleasant man to work with when producing a manuscript ; being Irish, Collins would add “ if ever.”

FREDERICK CHAMBERLIN.

VILLA BELLA VISTA,
EL TERRENO, PALMA DE MALLORCA,
27th July 1923.

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PLATES

QUEEN ELIZABETH, from the Nicholas Hilliard miniature in her Little Prayer Book which was all in her own Handwriting *Frontispiece*

THE DUC D'ALENÇON, from the miniature by the same Artist, also bound in the same Volume *Facing page I*

THE SAYINGS OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH



I

THE BEGINNINGS

To Katherine Parr, Elizabeth's last step-mother (No. 4), who married Admiral Seymour thirty days after the commencement of this her own fourth widowhood at the age of thirty-five. The child referred to was that of the Admiral, and first saw the light a month subsequent to this letter, the mother dying in consequence. Over two centuries later, Katherine's embalmed body lay for some days on a rubbish heap¹ unshielded from public eyes by any covering at all, while the local doctor bored through the wrappings to learn that the flesh had retained its natural colour—a fate for a royal personage of England only equalled by that of Charles I., whose left eye was seen a century and a half after his execution to wink at one of his successors on the throne;² and that of Elizabeth herself, when, about seventy years after her death, a little boy was found playing about with her heart in the urn in which it is deposited in Westminster Abbey.³

At the date of the following letter, 1548, Elizabeth was not yet fifteen :

Although your hithnys letters be most joyfull to me in absens, yet consyderinge what paine hit ys to you to write your grace beinge so great with childe, and so sikely your comendacyon wer ynough in my

¹ Strickland, *Life of Katherine Parr*, 1851 ed., p. 298.

² Sir H. Halford, Bart., *Essays and Orations*, p. 163.

³ Strickland, *Life of Mary*, 1851 ed., p. 582.

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Lordes lettar. . . . I can not reprove my Lord for not doinge your comendacyons in his lettar for he did hit : and although he had not, yet I wil not coplaine on him for that he shal be diligent to give me knolege from time to time how his busy childe dothe, and if I were at his birth no dowt I wolde se him beaton for the trobel he has put you to. Master Denny and my Lady with humbel thanks prayeth most intirely for your grace prainge the almyghtty God to sende you a most lucky deliverance.

To Somerset, 1549, head of the government of Elizabeth's brother, the boy King, Edward VI. The Lord Admiral referred to was the one mentioned in the preceding Saying and Somerset's brother, whom he was soon to behead for conspiring to reach the throne, mainly through a marriage with Elizabeth before she was fourteen. When Elizabeth would not have him, he proceeded to marry at once Katherine Parr, to whom he had been engaged before she ever married Henry VIII. By the date of this letter Elizabeth was fifteen, and had been slandered all over the world through the unwise attentions of the Admiral :

. . . There goeth rumours Abroad which be greatly both against my Honour and Honestie, which, above all other things, I esteem, which be these, that I am in the Tower, and with Child by my Lord Admiral. My Lord, these are shameful Schandlers, for the which, besides the great Desire I have to see the King's Majestie, I shall most heartily desire your Lordship that I may come to the Court after your first Determination that I may show myself there as I am.

To Somerset ; 1549, æt. 15 :

They are most deceived that trusteth most in themselves.

To some person, now unknown, when speaking of the execution of the Admiral :

This day died a man with much wit and very little judgment.

To Somerset ; 1549, æt. 15 :

I have a request to make unto your Grace which fear has made me omit till this time. . . . I shall speak [of] Katernyn Ashley, that it would please your Grace and the rest of the Council to be good unto her . . . because she hath been with me a long time, and many years, and hath taken great labour and pain in bringing me up in learning and honesty ; and, therefore, I ought of very duty speak of her ; for Saint Gregorie sayeth, “ that we are more bound to them that bringeth us up well than to our parents, for our parents do that which is natural for them that bringeth us into this world, but our bringers up are a cause to make us live well in it.”

To King Edward VI., her boy brother ; Elizabeth about seventeen and the King thirteen. This is a fair example of her early style of composition :

Your letter, most illustrious King, has cheered my mind for many reasons ; in the first place, that it certified me of your sound health, which has ever been my chief care ; in the second, that it exhibited no common marks of your love for me ; and in the

4 THE SAYINGS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

last that it showed satisfactorily with how kind feeling you accepted my bounden duty, by the messenger sent by me to enquire of your health. Amidst all which, while I was pondering on what was the most important, your majesty's prosperous health struck me at the first glance, than which nothing can ever happen more desirable or more necessary to this realm. For, what a family is without a steward, a ship without a pilot, a flock without a shepherd, a body without a head, the same, I think, is a kingdom without the health and safety of a good monarch. Since then so much weight rests on the prosperity of princes, your majesty's well-being ought to be desired and wished for by all with the heartiest prayers ; and without it, in fact, the subjects of this kingdom can in no wise be safe and secure. For, as sheep cannot be guarded against, or escape from the snares of wolves without the shepherd's care and foresight, so without the foresight of kings (whom Homer calls " Shepherds of the people " and Isaiah, " Feeders of the Church ") neither can states be sufficiently guarded and fortified against the inroads and attacks of tyrants, nor can the Church be rightly fed and satisfied with food for the spirit, that is, with the word of God. Moreover, lest I should seem unmindful of my duty, I give my thanks to your majesty for having conceived such an opinion of me, as you have fully expressed in your letters. And that this opinion may remain settled in your majesty's mind perpetually, I have hitherto striven earnestly, and I promise that I will

hereafter strive as sedulously. May God long preserve your highness in safety, to the glory of his name, and the advantage of your kingdom.

To Queen Mary, her sister, who had ordered her to be imprisoned for treason in the Tower ; 1554, æt. 20 :

THE LADY ELIZABETH TO THE QUEEN

If any ever did try this old saying, “ that a king’s word was more than another man’s oath,” I must humbly beseech your Majesty to verify it in me, and to remember your last promise and my last demand—that I be not condemned without answer and due proof—which it seems that I now am ; for without cause proved, I am by your council from you commanded to go to the Tower, a place more wanted for a false traitor, than a true subject. Which though I know I deserve it not, yet in the face of all this realm it appears proved. I pray to God I may die the shamefullest death that any ever died, if I may mean any such thing ; and to this present hour I protest before God (who shall judge my truth whatsoever malice shall devise) that I never practised, counselled, nor consented to anything that might be prejudicial to your person any way, or dangerous to the state by any means. And therefore I humbly beseech your Majesty to let me answer afore yourself, and not suffer me to trust to your councillors—yea, and that afore I go to the Tower—if it be possible—if not, before I be further condemned. Howbeit, I trust assuredly your Highness will give me leave to

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do it afore I go, that thus shamefully I may not be cried out on, as I now shall be—yea, and that without cause !

Let conscience move your Highness to pardon this my boldness, which innocency procures me to do, together with hope of your natural kindness, which I trust will not see me cast away without desert, which what it is I would desire no more of God, but that you truly knew—but which thing I think and believe, you shall never by report know, unless by yourself you hear. I have heard of many in my time cast away, for want of coming to the presence of their prince ; and in late days I heard my lord of Somerset say, that if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered, but persuasions were made to him so great that he was brought in belief, that he could not live safely if the admiral [Seymour] lived, and that made him give consent to his death. Though these persons are not to be compared to your Majesty, yet I pray God the like evil persuasions persuade not one sister against the other, and all, for that they have heard false report, and the truth not known.

Therefore, once again, kneeling with humbleness of heart, because I am not suffered to bow the knees of my body, I humbly crave to speak with your Highness, which I would not be so bold as to desire, if I knew not myself most clear, as I know myself most true.

And as for the traitor Wyat, he might, peradventure, write me a letter, but on my faith I never received

any from him. And as for the copy of the letter sent to the French king, I pray God confound me eternally if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter, by any means, and to this truth I will stand in till my death.

Your Highness's most faithful subject, that hath been from the beginning, and will be to my end.

ELIZABETH.

I humbly crave but only one word of answer from yourself.

To her guard who were taking her down the Thames to imprisonment in the Tower ; 1554, æt. 20 :

I marvel what the nobles mean by suffering me, a prince, to be led into captivity, the Lord knoweth wherefore ; for myself, I do not.

To her guard who forced her, against her vehement protest, to land at the Traitors' Gate of the Tower :

Here lands as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs. Before thee, O God, I speak it, having no other friend but thee alone !

After landing at the Tower, she refused to enter further, seating herself on a stone and rejecting a cloak offered to protect her from the rain. Within, her mother, her first suitor, Admiral Seymour, and her sixteen-year-old relative, Lady Jane Grey, and her boy husband had been beheaded, the two last only the month preceding. Before she could be induced to go to her apartments she said :

Better sit here than in a worse place, for God knoweth, not I, whither you will bring me.

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To the ten lords of the Council who cross-examined her in their effort to prove her guilty of treason ; 1554, æt. 20 :

Well, my lords, you sift me narrowly, but you can do no more than God hath appointed, unto whom I pray to forgive you all.

Written by her in an edition of the Epistles of St. Paul while imprisoned at Woodstock, after leaving the Tower. This castle was then in the grounds of the present Blenheim. The book is still to be seen at the Bodleian at Oxford :

August.—I walk many times into the pleasant fields of the Holy Scriptures, where I pluck up the goodly herbes of sentences by pruning, eat them by reading, chew them by musing, and lay them up at length in the high seat of memorie, by gathering them together, that so having tasted their sweetness I may the less perceive the bitterness of this miserable life.

Written by her with a diamond on a glass window of Woodstock during her detention there :

Much suspected of me,
Nothing proved can be,
Quoth Elizabeth, prisoner.

To one of her keepers during her incarceration at Woodstock, after hearing a milkmaid sing at her work :

That milkmaid's lot is better than mine, and her life merrier.

Written with charcoal by her during her imprisonment at Woodstock, on a shutter when deprived of pen and ink :

O Fortune ! how thy restless wavering state
Hath fraught with cares my troubled wit,
Witness this present prison, whither fate
Could bear me, and the joys I quit.
Thou caus'dst the guilty to be loosed
From bands wherein are innocents enclosed,
Causing the guiltless to be strait reserved,
And freeing those that death had well deserved,
But by her envy can be nothing wrought,
So God send to my foes all they have wrought,
Quoth Elizabeth, prisoner.

To Bishop Gardiner, who had done his best to have her beheaded, and who was now trying to induce her to confess treason to her sister ; 1554, æt. 21 :

Rather than do so I shall lie in prison all my life ;
I have never offended against the Queen, in thought,
word, or deed ; and I crave no mercy at her Majesty's
hand, but rather desire to put myself on the law.

The following day Gardiner renewed the attempt, this time with the plea that unless she complied it would seem as if she took the ground that she were wrongfully imprisoned by her sister :

No ; she may, if it please her, punish me as she thinketh best. [Gardiner then said : " Her Majesty willeth me to tell you that you must tell another tale ere you are set at liberty." Elizabeth replied :] I had as lief be in prison, with honesty, as to be abroad suspected of her Majesty.

To Sir Thomas Pope, to say to her sister, Queen Mary, about an oral proposal to Elizabeth by the Swedish

Ambassador that she marry the Crown Prince of that country ; 1558, æt. 24 :

Say unto her Majesty, that in the king my brother's time, there was offered me a very honourable marriage or two, and ambassadors sent to treat with me touching the same, whereunto I made my humble suit unto his Highness (as some of honour yet living can be testimonies), that it would like the same (King Edward) to give me leave with his Grace's favour to remain in that estate I was, which of all others best pleased me, and in good faith, I pray you say unto her Highness, I am even at this present of the same mind, and so intend to continue with her Majesty's favour, assuring her Highness I so well like this state, as I persuade myself there is not any kind of life comparable to it. And as concerning my liking the motion made by the said messenger, I beseech you say unto her Majesty, that to my remembrance I never heard of his master before this time, and that I so well like both the message and the messenger, as I shall most humbly pray God upon my knees, that from henceforth I may never hear of the one nor the other.

II

MY PEOPLE

To the Duke de Feria, who had told her that she owed her crown to his master, Philip II. of Spain ; 1558, æt. 25 :

It is the people who have placed me in the position I at present hold as the declared successor to the Crown.¹

To her judges upon their assumption of office ; 1559, æt. 25 :

Have a care over my people. You have my people—do you that which I ought to do. They are *my* people. Every man oppresseth and spoileth them without mercy. They cannot revenge their quarrel, nor help themselves. See unto them—see unto them, for they are my charge. I charge you, even as God hath charged me. I care not for myself ; my life is not dear to me. My care is for my people. I pray God, whoever succeedeth me, be as careful of them as I am.

To the Recorder who presented to her a purse at the upper end of Cheapside, which was then the principal centre of the mercers and silk merchants of London,

¹ Translation from Spanish original ; Simancas MS.

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when her coronation procession reached that point ; 1559, æt. 25 :

I thank my Lord Mayor, his brethren, and ye all. And whereas, master recorder, your request is, that I may continue your good lady and queen, be ye assured that I will be as good unto ye as ever queen was to a people.

To the Recorder of Warwick, as she entered the town on her way to visit Leycester at Kenilworth. The official had just completed an extremely long oration in which he had given her plenty of advice :

Come hither, little recorder ; it was told to me that you would be afraid to look upon me, or to speak boldly ; but you were not so afraid of me as I was of you, and I now thank you for putting me in mind of my duty and what should be in me.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg ; 1564, æt. 30 :

There is nothing about which I am more anxious than my country, and for its sake I am willing to die ten deaths, if that be possible.¹

To the French Ambassador, speaking about the affection shown to her by her subjects :

It seems incredible, and I love them no less ; and I can say that I would rather die than see any diminution of it on one side or the other.

To Fénelon, the French Ambassador, on the occasion of the opening of the Royal Exchange :

¹ Translation from the Latin.

It warms my heart to see myself so loved and desired by my subjects.

To Alençon, the French prince, in communicating to him her final decision not to marry him :

Although my affection for you is undiminished I have after an agonizing struggle determined to sacrifice my own happiness to the welfare of my people.

To Stafford, her envoy in Paris, to whom she is communicating her fears that her marriage with Alençon will bring trouble to England :

Shall it ever be found true that Queen Elizabeth hath solemnized the perpetual harm of England under the glorious title of marriage with Francis, heir of France? No, no, it shall never be.

To the French Ambassador :

There is nothing in the world that gives me greater pleasure than to see favour shown to my people for love of me.

To those about her :

I shall lend credit to nothing against my people which parents would not believe against their own children.¹

To Stafford :

My mortal foe can no ways wish me a greater harm than England's hate; neither should death be less welcome unto me than such a mishap betide me.

¹ Nichols, *Progresses*, vol. ii. p. 338.

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To the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London after they had presented an address of loyalty upon the coming of the Armada :

I trust to the goodness of my cause, and am resolved to run all risks with my faithful friends.

To her army upon which she had to rely for defence if the Armada landed its troops ; she is addressing them on the hill at Tilbury. She was on a horse, attended only by Leycester, who was commander-in-chief, and the Earl of Ormond, who bore the great sword of State before her. Behind him a page carried her white-plumed helmet. On her breast the Queen wore a glittering steel corslet, while in her hand she carried a marshal's baton. She expressly forbade her retinue to be present, and thus, alone, approaching the men of that army which was her sole defence if the Spaniards could land, she must have thrilled them as nothing else could have done. It is one of the greatest scenes of all history. To make such a personal appeal to Englishmen was a stroke of genius—and her speech itself is a second one :

My loving people,—We have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes for fear of treachery ; but, I do assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear ; I have always so behaved myself, that under God I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects ; and, therefore, I am come amongst you as you see at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all—to lay down for my

God, and for my kingdoms, and for my people, my honour and my blood even in the dust. I know I have the body of a weak, feeble woman ; but I have the heart and stomach of a king—and of a King of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm ; to which, rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms—I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardness, you have deserved rewards and crowns, and, we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. For the meantime, my Lieutenant General [Leycester] shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject ; not doubting but by your obedience to my General, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over these enemies of my God, of my kingdom and of my people.

To the crowd on the Strand, on returning by torchlight from a Council meeting after the Armada :

Ye may have a greater prince, but ye shall never have a more loving prince.

To the people in her Chapel following morning prayer on a Sunday shortly after the execution of Essex ; 1601, æt. 67 :

Be always faithful to me, as I always desire to keep you in peace ; and if there have been wiser kings, none has ever loved you more than I have.

III

THE FIGHTER

To the Swedish Ambassador, who was threatening her of the dangers ahead if she did not marry his master :

I have the heart of a man, not a woman, and I am not afraid of anything.

To the Prince of Parma commanding the Spanish armies in the Netherlands, who had been making peace overtures to her :

Every week I see advertisements and letters from Spain that this year shall witness the downfall of England ; for the Spaniards—like the hunter who divided, with great liberality, among his friends the body and limbs of the wolf before it had been killed—have partitioned this kingdom and that of Ireland before the conquest has been effected. But my royal heart is no whit appalled by such threats.¹ I trust with the help of the divine hand—which has thus far miraculously preserved me—to smite all these braggart powers into the dust, and to preserve my honour and the kingdoms which He has given me for my heritage. Nevertheless, if you have authority

¹ “ *Non resta che'l mio cuore regale sia punto sbigottito da queste minaccie* ” : Simancas MS. ; undated, but known to be of 1586. Cf. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. i. p. 510.

to enter upon and to conclude this negotiation, you will find my ears open to hear your propositions.

To the Prince of Parma :

Do not suppose that I am seeking what belongs to others. God forbid. I seek only that which is mine own. But be sure that I will take good heed of the sword which threatens me with destruction, nor think that I am so craven-spirited as to endure a wrong, or to place myself at the mercy of my enemy.¹

To the French Ambassador :

The King of Spain is daily making offers of peace and friendship, but I shall not listen to them, knowing his ambition ; on the contrary, I have sent Drake to ravage his coasts and am considering sending the Earl of Leycester to Holland to show that I am not afraid of war.²

To Hatton and the other gentlemen in attendance while they walked in Richmond Park. She alone recognized, loitering in her path, one of the assassins in the Babington Plot, from her recollection of his picture. After she had awed by her piercing glance all the murder there was in the fellow, she observed :

Am I not well guarded to-day ?—not having one man wearing his sword by his side near me !

To some one now unknown :

A fig for Spain so long as Royston will afford such plenty of good malts !³

¹ Translation from Italian original ; undated, but surely 1586. Simancas MS. Cf. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. i. p. 510.

² Letter of l'Aubespine to Henry III. Translation from original French MS., March 6, 1587.

³ Harl. MS. 6768, Brit. Mus.

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To the Duke of Norfolk, who is representing her in Scotland, where the French are besieged by the Scots :

The Scots should be informed that I shall augment my force by sea and land, lest the French conceive slackness in them. And although this be the outward show, I would not that any reasonable offers of the French for accord should be neglected ; and indeed, the more hardly handled the French be in the siege the better it shall be.

To the Archbishop of St. Andrews, to whom she was vituperatively declaiming on the death of Morton and the schemes of Mary Queen of Scots and her son James, finally disposing of them all with :

I am more afraid of making a fault in my Latin than of the Kings of Spain, France, Scotland, the whole House of Guise, and all of their confederates.¹

To the French Ambassador, who was accusing her of assisting Navarre against his master :

I am not assisting the King of Navarre against the King of France, but against the house of Guise, who are his foes, and are leagued with the King of Spain and the Prince of Parma, who, after they effect his ruin, mean to attack me ; but I shall be ready to repel them, and I shall not relinquish my hold on the Low Countries, nor, by God ! will I suffer either the King of Spain or Guise to mock this poor old woman, who, in my female form, carries the heart of a man.²

¹ Harl. MS. 398, Brit. Mus.

² Letter of l'Aubespine to Henry III. Translation from original French MS., March 6, 1587.

To herself in 1599, when she learned that there were rumours of her death ; this Saying she often repeated until her death some three years later :

Mortua—sed non sepulta ! Mortua—sed non sepulta !
[Dead—but not buried ! Dead—but not buried !]

To her attendants, when told that the mob behind Essex during his rebellion was in Fleet Street and rushing toward the palace. She proposed to go to meet them :

Not one of them will dare to meet a single glance of my eyes ! They will fly at the very notice of my approach !

To Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, Venetian Secretary in England, on presenting his credentials as the first Venetian Ambassador to her Court for many years. Elizabeth first received him only thirty-three days before her death. The exact date of this interview cannot be determined ; but the very day after Scaramelli reported it by letter to the Doge and Senate Elizabeth began to fail with great rapidity. This is her last defiance to the world. She had insufficient strength to maintain the pose longer :

Welcome to England, Mr. Secretary. It was high time that the Republic sent to visit a Queen who has always honoured it on every possible occasion. . . . I cannot help feeling that the Republic of Venice, during the forty-four years of my reign, has never made herself heard by me except to ask for something, nor for the rest, prosperous or adverse as my affairs may have been, never has she given a sign of holding me or my kingdom in that esteem which other Princes

and other potentates have not refused. Nor am I aware that my sex has brought me this demerit, for my sex cannot diminish my prestige nor offend those who treat me as other Princes are treated, to whom the Signory of Venice sends its Ambassadors. But I am well aware, and so far I excuse the Republic, that in the many discussions on this subject she has not been able to obtain leave from certain Sovereigns. But for all this I would not be discourteous to her. . . . I do not know if I have spoken Italian well, still I think so, for I learnt it when a child, and I believe I have not forgotten it.¹

¹ Translation from Italian MS. at Venice. Cf. *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, vol. ix. p. 531, No. 1135, Feb. 19, 1603.

IV

FRUGALITY

To her attendants, referring to advice she had received :

Their only object is to worry an old woman until they have drained her purse to the bottom.

To Leycester, her commander in the Netherlands, to whom she is sending £30,000 for the payment of his army :

The remainder [of the money] is to be issued with like expedition to the rest of the troops, and more certain account thereof and of the rest of the treasure lastly sent over by Huddilston to be sent to me than has been yielded of that formerly employed, whereof I could hitherto never (God knows by whose default) receive any just account.

To Essex, who was urging her to reinforce Flushing as its English Governor had requested :

My governors are never well but when they can draw me into unnecessary charges.

To some of the Lords who were urging her to increase her navy :

No danger appears, and I shall not make wars, but arm for defence, understanding how much of my treasure is spent already in victuals for ships at sea and soldiers by land.

To one of her footmen at Harford Bridge, the western boundary of Norwich, where the mayor of that city had addressed her in a long speech in Latin, perorating with the equivalent of "Here is one hundred pounds pure gold," which he then extended to her as a gift, within a silver cup. Elizabeth was running no risks that her footman understood so much Latin as that, and hurriedly commanded him :

Look to it ! There is a hundred pound !

To thirty members of each House, for whom she sent when Parliament insisted it would not vote the money she needed until she declared her successor ; 1566, æt. 32 :

Half will content me, as I consider that money in my subject's purses is as good as in my own exchequer. [And Parliament receded.]

To Parliament, which had suggested that she send an expedition to Spain to retaliate for its attack with the Armada :

I am too poor to bear the burden myself, but my brave subjects are welcome to fit out an armament for the liberation of Portugal from the Spanish yoke, provided they do it at their own expense ; and I will lend them ships of war.

To her attendants, referring to the small sums that reached her from the sales of Crown properties :

My commissioners behave to me as strawberry vendors to their customers, who lay two or three great strawberries at the mouth of the pottle, and all the rest are little ones, so they give me two or three good prices at the first, and the rest fetch nothing.

To Fénelon, who had brought to her as a gift from the Queen of Scots three nightcaps wrought in the finest needlework by her own hands. The Council had made a great deal of opposition when Elizabeth had some months earlier accepted similar presents from the same source. The nightcaps were left on the hands of the Ambassador for some weeks, but at last Elizabeth accepted them, with this speech :

Tell the Queen of Scots that I am older than she is, and when people arrive at my age [*æt.* 41], they take all they can get with both hands, and only give with the little finger.¹

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dépêches, Rapports . . . des Ambassadeurs de France en Angleterre et en Écosse*, Cooper, vol. vi. p. 398, March 11, 1575.

V

THE HARD SIDE

To the Earl of Arundel, whose father had lately been beheaded, and who, as the Queen knew, was planning to fly the kingdom. Upon learning this, she visited him at Arundel House, and, after magnificent entertainment for herself and her large retinue, she left him, first thanking him for his great hospitality, with these words :

Consider yourself a prisoner in your own house.

To Sir Thomas Smith and Dr. Wilson, who had custody of Barker and Banister, two of the servants of the Duke of Norfolk, who was under surveillance for intriguing with Mary Queen of Scots ; 1571, æt. 38 :

If they shall not seem to you to confess plainly their knowledge, then we warrant you to cause them both, or either of them, to be brought to the rack ; and first to move them with fear thereof, to deal plainly in their answers ; and if that shall not move them, then you shall cause them to be put to the rack, *and to find the taste thereof*, until they shall deal more plainly, or until you shall think meet.

To Sussex after the collapse of the rebellion on the Scottish border headed by Northumberland and others :

We do marvel that we have heard of no execution by martial law, as was appointed, of the meaner sort of rebels in the North. If the same be not already

done, you are to proceed thereunto, for the terror of others, with expedition and to certify us of your doing therein. We understand that some in those parts, in this hour of service, have remained at home, or shown great slackness in our service, having brethren or children with the rebels ; have an earnest regard to such, and spare no offenders in that case.

To Sussex after the above rebellion :

Though we have always been more inclinable to mercy than severity, yet we doubt whether an example of justice being passed in the execution of a great number of the poorer sort there should be no greater example of justice upon the richer than four.

To Hunsdon, after he had secured the rebel Earl of Northumberland :

You may use speeches to terrify him with extremity of punishment if he shall conceal anything ; as you see cause, you may also comfort him with hope, so as it be not in our name, if he will utter the truth of every person, without regard to any, though he may think they be in place of credit.

To Fénelon :

I beg both the King and Queen to believe firmly that, if their subjects will not be content with reasonable treatment, nor accept the honest conditions that it may please them to offer, and if there appears the smallest spark of rebellion amongst them, I will not only deny them all retreat and assistance in my realm,

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but they will have no more irreconcilable and mortal enemy in the whole world than myself.¹

To her leaders in Ireland who had proposed to execute out of hand a poor wretch they had already tortured by pouring hot rosin into his boots :

The man being so notorious and ill a subject . . . the lords justices should proceed to his execution by ordinary trial first ; but if you find the effect of that course doubtful, through the affection of such as shall be of the jury, or the interpretations of the lawyers, or the Statute of Treasons, you may then take the shorter way. For what is past [that is, the torturing] I accept in good part your careful travail, and greatly commend your doings.²

To Sir William Drury, Keeper of the Tower of London :

Herle is to be kept as straightly and secretly as possible, and to be examined on certain articles sent herewith, and let him looke to be racked to all extremity if he will conceal the truth, and, contrarywise, will be pardoned with favour if he will freely confess.

To her Court, speaking of Morgan, the Welsh Catholic fanatic, whose hatred of her was so great that he plotted her assassination. He it was who headed the Babington conspiracy which led to the necessity for the death of Mary Queen of Scots :

I will give ten thousand pounds for his head !

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. vi. p. 233, Sept. 10, 1574.

² Memorandum to the Lords Justices, April 28, 1584; P.R.O. MS., Ireland.

To Burghley, when he was sixty-six and she fifty-four :

I have been strong enough to lift you out of the dirt, and I am still able to cast you down again.

To the Duc de Biron, who had come from France on a special mission with an embassy of over 400 of the first families of that country. Elizabeth took him by the hand—he was then a very troublesome subject of the King of France and soon lost his life through his machinations—and pointed to over 300 heads on pikes on London Bridge, saying :

It is thus we punish traitors in England.

To the Duc de Biron, speaking of the execution of Essex :

Notwithstanding his engaging in open rebellion, he might still, by submission, have obtained my pardon, but neither his friends nor his relations could prevail upon him to ask it.

To Francis Bacon, upon the appearance of Hayward's History of Henry IV. of England, which was dedicated to Essex, who was then in the depths of his disgrace over Ireland. Taking the book in parts to be a cloaked attack upon her government, she sent Hayward to prison, saying to Bacon :

Cannot you find something in the book that may be construed into treason ? I want him put to the rack to see whether he is the author or not !

VI

THE GENTLE SIDE

To a delegation of eighteen tailors :

Good morning, gentlemen both.¹

To Sir Francis Drake, who had assumed the heraldic device of three wiverns—a two-legged winged dragon with a barbed tail—which was that of an ancient family of his name. The living representative of it boxed Drake's ears for his effrontery, for Drake was a commoner. Drake appealed to Elizabeth, who said :

You have earned better arms for yourself which you will wear by my especial favour! [And she thereupon gave him a most elaborate coat of arms with a ship bearing in its shrouds a wivern hung up by its heels !]

To Leycester, commanding in the Netherlands :

It frets me not a little that the poor soldier that hourly ventures life should want their due that well deserve rather reward : and look in whom the fault may duly be proved, let them smart therefor. And

¹ Finding that not everybody has heard of the ancient quip—it has lately become familiar in the United States through the comic opera, *Robin Hood*, by Reginald de Koven—as to the number of tailors it takes “to make a man,” I am forced to insert this note. It is equally necessary to state that the sole authority for my use of this saying is Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, p. 328, who is very reliable. I have failed to see the original.

if the Treasurer be found untrue or negligent, according to desert he shall be used ; though you know my old wont, that love not to discharge from office without desert ; God forbid.

To a secretary to whom she was imparting the good news that the Archduke Albert had raised the siege of the city of Grave in the Netherlands :

Wot you wot ? The archduke is risen from the grave—without sound of trumpet.

To some person unknown :

I have a cavalry regiment whereof neither horse nor man can be injured ; my regiment, namely, of tailors on mares.¹

To Lord Herbert of Cherbury, upon seeing him for the first time kneeling in her Court, as she was passing to her chapel in Whitehall Palace. She had stopped to inquire about him from an attendant, who reported that the newcomer was the son-in-law of a well-known peer. She thereupon gave him her hand twice to kiss, each time gently patting him on the cheek, saying to an attendant :

God's death ! It is pity he married so young !

To a company of Venetian noblemen visiting Windsor ; 1575, æt. 41 :

If what you have seen has pleased you, you now behold the worst—the mistress !

To Stanhope, one of her private chamber, after she had circumvented a scheme of Burghley to get some of his friends precedence in the nobility by securing their

¹ *Idem*, with the same comment.

appointment before others at the same audience. Burghley had arranged the seven to be knighted so that his friends would be first in the hall as the Queen entered. She learned of the plan, passed the entire length of the room without knighting any of the kneeling candidates, until of a sudden she paused and said she had forgotten what she came for, and at once knighted first those then nearest at hand—the very ones Burghley had meant to be last. Stanhope whispered to her: “Your Majesty was too fine for my Lord Burghley.” But her reply was:

Nay!—I have but fulfilled the Scripture: “The first shall be last, and the last first.”

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador, who had told her that the Pope had a very exalted idea of her ability:

I think he and I should get married!

To Lady Mary Howard, one of her maids of honour, who became possessed of a dress that outshone all others at Court, even that of the Queen herself. Lady Mary was very short, and Elizabeth put on the offending garment and asked the owner if it was not “made too short and ill-becoming?” She agreed, and then the Queen said:

Why then if it become not me as being too short, it shall never become thee as being too fine. [And the owner never wore it again until the Queen was dead.]

To Dr. Humphreys, leader of the Puritans, as he was about to kiss her hand on her visit to Oxford; 1566, æt. 32:

Mr. Doctor, that loose gown becomes you so well I wonder your notions should be so narrow.

To Dr. Westphaling, in St. Mary’s Church, Oxford, whose speech began to bore her, as well as interfere with her own address which was to follow:

Make an end of your discourse without delay. [But the good doctor did not stop for half an hour, the fact being that he had so committed his speech to memory that he knew that if he omitted any of it he would forget the rest. The result was that there was no time at all for the Queen. She sent him the message :] How dared you presume to go on with your discourse to so unreasonable a length after I had sent my command to you to bring it briefly to a close ? [He confessed the truth as above, and she burst out laughing ; but, to show him what a mere woman who had not been to Oxford could do, in the midst of her own oration the following morning at the same place she stopped upon seeing Burghley, who was suffering from gout, standing, and did not proceed until her order to bring him a seat was carried out.]

To her attendants when sending Man, Dean of Gloucester, as Ambassador to Philip II. of Spain, whose Ambassador to her was Guzman de Silva :

King Philip has sent a Gooseman to me, and I, in return, have sent a Man to him not a whit better than a goose.

To her ladies, with respect to a man by the name of Noel, who was always in debt :

The word of denial and letter of fifty
Is that gentleman's name that will never be thrifty.
[No and L.]

On dismissing Parliament, 1593 ; æt. 60 :

This Kingdom hath had many wise, noble and

victorious princes. I will not compare with any of them in wisdom, fortitude and other virtues ; but saving the duty of a child that is not to compare with his father, in love, care, sincerity and justice, I will compare with any Prince that ever you had, or shall have. It may be thought simplicity in me, that all this time of my reign I have not fought to advance my territories and enlarge my dominions ; for opportunity hath served me to do it. I acknowledge my womanhood and weakness in that respect. But it hath not been the hardness to obtain, or doubt how to keep the things so obtained, that only hath withheld me from these attempts. My mind was never to invade my neighbours, or to usurp over any. I am contented to reign over mine own, and to rule as a just Prince. Yet the King of Spain doth challenge me to be the quarreller, and the beginner of all these wars. He doth me the greatest wrong that can be ; for my conscience doth not accuse my thoughts wherein I have done him the least injury ; so that I am persuaded in my conscience, if he knew what I know, he would be sorry himself for the wrong he hath done me. I fear not all his threatenings. His great preparations and mighty forces do not stir me. For though he come against me with the greatest power that ever was—his invincible navy—I doubt not but (God assisting me, upon whom I always trust) I shall be able to defeat him and overthrow him. For my cause is just. I heard say when he attempted his last invasion, some upon the seacoasts forsook their towns

and fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance. But I swear unto you by God, if I knew those persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them know and feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a cause. The subsidy you give me I accept thankfully, if you give me your good will with it ; but if the necessity of the time and your preservations did not require it, I would refuse it. But let me tell you the same is not so much but that it is needful for a Prince to have so much always lying in her coffers for your defence in time of need, and not be driven to get it when she should use it. You that are Lieutenants and Gentlemen of Command in your countries, I require you to take care and special order, that the people be well armed and in readiness upon all occasions. You that be Judges and Justices of Peace, I command and straitly charge you, that you see the law to be duly executed, and that you make them living laws when we have put life into them.

To Heneage with respect to her fury at Leycester for disobeying her in the Netherlands by accepting the supreme power there :

We perceive by your letters that if the same [the command to Leycester to renounce publicly his office in the same place in which he had accepted it] had been executed according to our first purpose, it would have wrought some dangerous alteration in the state there, and utterly overthrown the reputation and credit of our cousin [Leycester], no less pre-

judicial to our service than the utter defacing and overthrow of one whom we ourselves have raised up, and have always found as greatly devoted to our service as ever sovereign found any subject. Though in his late proceeding touching the absolute government he did greatly forget himself, yet we would never have proceeded against him so severely had not our honour been touched. We are well persuaded that this offence and error grew not out of any evil meaning toward us, whose service we know he doth prefer even before his own life. And although we have assured him so much by our own letters, directed to him, yet we think meet you should labour, by all means, to comfort him. . . . You have been an eye-witness of the great love we have always borne him above any subject we have, and therefore you can easily guess the grief we should conceive if he should miscarry. We doubt not therefore that you will leave nothing undone that may salve his wounded mind, and repair his credit, if you find the same decayed.

To Burghley, who had been so annoyed by the pin-pricks of his political opponents in the Council that he asked permission to retire altogether from her employment :

SIR SPIRIT,—I doubt I do nick-name you. For those of your kind (they say) have no *sense* [feeling]. But I have lately seen an *ecce signum*, that if an ass kick you, you feel it too soon. I will recant you from being *spirit*, if ever I perceive that you disdain not such a feeling. Serve God, fear the king, and be a good fellow to the rest. Let never care appear in you for such a

rumour, but let them well know that you desire the righting of such wrong, by making known their error, than you to be so silly a soul, as to fore show what you ought to do, or not freely deliver what you think meetest, and pass of no man so much as not to regard her trust who putteth it in you.—God bless you, and long may you last.

OMNINO, E. R.

To Leycester, in command in the Low Countries :

ROB,—I am afraid you will suppose by my wandering writings that a “ midsummer ” moon hath taken large possessions of my brains this month, but you must needs take things as they come in my head, though order be left behind me.

To Catherine de' Medici :

Nothing is more disagreeable for me than to write, and particularly in the Roman hand. Rather than not return your courtesy I send this rude writing, believing that it will blush to be in your hands, to be seen by eyes to which it is unaccustomed. I hope that you will think it has been written while galloping in the chase.¹

To the Countess of Shrewsbury, who entertained Leycester when he went to the baths of Buxton for treatment for the gout. This is one of the best extant examples of the Queen's lighter style. It will be better appreciated when it is said that Leycester was an extremely hearty eater and drinker :

RIGHT TRUSTY,—Being given to understand from our cousin, the Earl of Leycester, how honourably he

¹ Translation from French original.

was lately received and used by you, our cousin the Countess at Chatsworth, and how his diet is by you both discharged at Buxton, we should do him great wrong holding him in that place in our favour in which we do, in case we should not let you understand in how thankful sort we accept the same at your hands—which we do not acknowledge to be done unto him but to our own self ; and therefore do mean to take upon us the debt and to acknowledge you both as our creditors so as you can be content to accept us for debtor, wherein is the danger unless you cut off some part of the large allowance of diet you give him, lest otherwise the debt thereby may grow to be so great as we shall not be able to discharge the same, and so become bankrupt. And therefore we think it for the saving of our credit meet to prescribe unto you a proportion of diet which we mean in no case you shall exceed, and that is to allow him by the day for his meat two ounces of flesh, referring the quality to yourselves, so as you exceed not the quantity, and for his drink the twentieth part of a pint of wine to comfort his stomach, and as much of St. Anne's sacred water as he listeth to drink. On festival days, as is meet for a man of his quality, we can be content you shall enlarge his diet by allowing unto him for his dinner the shoulder of a wren, and for his supper a leg of the same, besides his ordinary ounces. The like proportion we mean you shall allow to our brother of Warwick, saving that we think it meet that in respect that his body is more replete than his brother's, that

the wren's leg allowed at supper on festival days be abated, for that light supper agreeth best with rules of physic. This order our meaning is you shall inviolably observe, and so may you right well assure yourselves of a most thankful debtor to so well deserving a creditor.¹

To Fénelon, referring to the religious ceremonies he was demanding for the nuptials of Anjou and herself ; 1571, æt. 37 :

One of my reasons for wishing to dispense with the elaborate marriage ceremonial service of the Catholic Church is on the score of signs, for if Monsieur, as the result of so many ceremonies, should by any chance allow the nuptial ring to fall to the floor, I should regard it as an evil omen.²

To Leycester in the command of her forces in the Netherlands :

For Norreys and other captains that voluntarily and without commandment have many years ventured their lives and our nation honour and themselves fame [see that they] be not discouraged by any means, neither by new come men nor by old trained soldiers elsewhere.

To her godson, Harrington, accompanying a copy of the speech she intended to deliver at the opening of the 1575 Parliament. He was about fourteen at this time. With such a letter as this in our possession, it is no wonder to us of these late days that Elizabeth could

¹ P.R.O. MS., Mary Queen of Scots, June 4, 1577.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iv.

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attach young men to her for all their lives, as she did in this instance. Think of the strain and stress there was upon her time—and yet she would take the trouble to send this to a small boy ! :

BOY JACK,—I have made a clerk write fair my poor words for thine use, as it cannot be such striplings have entrance into parliament as yet. Ponder them in thy hours of leisure, and play with them, till they enter thine understanding ; so shalt thou hereafter, perchance, find some good fruits thereof, when thy godmother is out of remembrance ; and I do this because thy father was ready to serve and love us in trouble and thrall.

To the French king, Henry III., who was urging that his brother Alençon be allowed to come and propose to her :

I beg you to believe that if Monsieur finds anything to object to in me, he will have great reason to complain of you who have always so sought this cause. Wherefore look to it, that you are receiving admonition before penance.¹

To Whitehead, a learned divine :

Whitehead, I like thee better because thou livest unmarried. [The doughty old fellow at once replied : “ In troth, madam, I like you the worse for the same cause.”]²

To her old jailor, Bedingfield, when he came to her first Court—she had been his prisoner some years before for many months ; 1559, æt. 25 :

¹ Cf. *Cal. S.P. For. Ser.*, May-July 1581.

² Bacon, *Apophthegms*.

Whenever I have a prisoner who requires to be safely and straitly kept, I shall send him to you.

To a courtier, who in a loud voice had asked before the whole Court for the release of four or five prisoners ; 1559, æt. 25. He was asked who they were. His reply was " The four evangelists and the apostle St. Paul, who had been long shut up in an unknown tongue, as it were, in prison, so that they could not converse with the common people." Elizabeth replied in all solemnity :

It is best first to enquire of them whether they approve of being released or not.

Impromptu couplet on four knights of Nottinghamshire :

Gervase the gentle, Stanhope the stout,
Markham the lion ; and Sutton the lout.

Rebus on the name of Raleigh :

The bane of the stomach, and the word of disgrace,
Is the name of the gentleman with the bold face.¹

Of Bacon, on noting his ample forehead :

My lord Bacon's soul lodgeth well.

To Burghley when he was suffering with gout :

My lord, we make use of you, not for your bad legs,
but for your good head.

To Essex, who had become ill, after his first disgrace for leaving against his orders his command in Ireland :

Comfort yourself, and if it were not inconsistent
with my honour I would come to visit you myself.

¹ *Raw*—the way Raleigh himself spelt the first syllable of his name—and either *lie*, " the word of disgrace," pronounced correctly, or as pronounced by the Scot, *i.e.* *lee*.

To the Bishop of London and many others of high place who asked her to soften the fate of debtors long imprisoned :

Make such final orders by the prisoners' own bond or bonds as you shall think just. If any of the creditors show repugnance or disobey your orders or decrees, or gainsay this commissary, you shall consign him to condign punishment.

To her courtiers, after she and they had witnessed a splendid and most expensive burlesque masque at Gray's Inn on Shrove Tuesday, 1594, performed by its gentlemen. When it was ended, the courtiers wanted to close the night with dancing, but the Queen said :

What ! Shall we have bread and cheese after a banquet ?

To Sir Edward ——, who had been for a long time urging her to grant him some favour which she had promised. As he was walking in the palace garden Elizabeth put her head out of her window and asked him :

What does a man think of when he thinks of nothing ? [To this he replied : " Of a woman's promises." She then said :] Well, Sir Edward, I must not confute you !

To Sir William Brown, deputy-governor of Flushing, whom she made to rise from his knees by saying that she would not speak to him until he had done so : she is speaking of the Count Maurice of Nassau, the leader of the Dutch forces against Philip II. in the Netherlands, who had altered his tactics from fighting battles to a campaign of besieging cities with earthworks :

Maurice is come from his weapon to his spade.

To her Court, after listening to a sermon by Barlow, Bishop of Rochester, upon the plough :

Barlow's text might seem taken from the cart but his talk may teach you all in the Court.

To her attendants at a fulsome masque by Essex :

If I had known that so much was to be said about me I would not have been here. [She then retired in the midst of the performance.]

To Fénelon, in discussing the terms of the proposed marriage treaty between her and Alençon, the French royal prince of seventeen, while she was thirty-nine :

What do I get in the way of compensation in these marriage articles for the damage to Alençon's face done by the small-pox ?¹

To de Maisse, the French Ambassador :

I think it about time my attention was occupied in preparing to die—but I won't die till you have gone.

To Ottaviano Cornaro, a Venetian traveller :

I have always heard that Venice was a city founded [*fondata*] in the sea, but now I rather think it to be foundered [*affondata*] in the river of oblivion.²

To the Venetian Ambassador, Scaramelli, who had complained against English pirates :

I would have you know that this kingdom of mine

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. v., June 1572. Cf. Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman ed., p. 330.

² *Che haveva ella sempre inteso che la città di Vinetia era fondata nell'acque, ma che hora lo pareva di poter dire che si fosse affondata nel fiume lethe.*

is not so scant of men but that there may be a rogue or two among them.

To Raleigh, who, while the Queen was looking at him, had written on her window pane with a diamond : "Fain would I climb, but that I fear to fall," she with her own gem instantly answered by writing these words under his own :

If thy heart fail thee do not climb at all !

To Raleigh, after paying him the wager that he could not determine the weight of smoke emitted from a pipeful of tobacco :

I have known many persons who turned their gold into smoke, but you are the first to turn smoke into gold.

To Burghley its Chancellor and the other officials of Cambridge at the west door of Queens', before alighting from her horse ; 1565, æt. 30 :

Minister justice uprightly, or I shall take your staves into my own hands, and see to it ; though the chancellor halts, his leg being sore, yet I trust that Justice do not halt.

To those who asked that she allow Sir Philip Sidney to ascend the throne of Poland :

I cannot afford to part with the choicest jewel of my court.

To Warwick who was besieged at Rouen :

MY DEAR WARWICK,—If your honour and my desire could accord with the loss of the needfullest finger I keep, God so help me in my utmost need as I would

gladly lose that one joint for your safe abode with me ; but since I cannot that I would, I will do that I may, and will rather drink in an ashen cup than you and yours should not be succoured, both by sea and land, and that with all speed possible ; and let this my scribbling hand witness it to them all.—Yours as my own,

E. R.

To Lady Drury, who, on the death of her husband, had abandoned herself to grief :

Be well *ware*, my Besse, you strive not with Divine ordinance, nor grudge at irremediable harms, lest you offend the highest Lord, and no whit amend your marred hap. Heap not your harms where help there is none, but since you may not that you would wish, that you can enjoy with comfort a King for his power, and a queen for her love, who leaves not now to protect you when your case requires care, and minds not to omit whatever may be best for you and yours.—Your most loving, careful sovereign.

To Burghley as she sent him medicine in his last illness :

I do entreat heaven daily for your longer life, else will my people and myself stand in need of cordials too. My comfort hath been in my people's happiness and their happiness in thy discretion.

To her friend, Lady Paget, on the death of her daughter, Lady Crompton :

Call to your mind, good Kate, how hardly we princes can brook the crossing of our commands. How ireful

will the highest Power be (may you be sure) when murmurs shall be made of his pleasing his will. Let nature, therefore, not hurt herself, but give place to the Giver. Though this lesson be from a *sely* [simple] vicar, yet it is sent from a loving souveraine.

To Lady Norris, an old friend notoriously dark of complexion, upon the death of one of her four soldier sons—all of whom were killed :

MINE OWN DEAR CROW,—Although we have deferred long to represent unto you our grieved thoughts, because we liked full ill to yield you the first reflections of our misfortunes, whom we have always sought to cherish and comfort, yet knowing now that necessity must bring it to your ears, and nature consequently must raise many passionate workings in your heart, we have resolved no longer to smother either our care for your sorrow, or the sympathy of our grief for his death ; wherein, if society in sorrowing work any diminution, we do assure you, by this true messenger of our mind, that nature can have stirred no more dolorous affection in you, as a mother for a dear son, than the grateful memory of his services past hath wrought in us, his sovereign, apprehension of the miss of so worthy a servant.

But now that nature's common work is done, and he that was born to die hath paid his tribute, let that Christian discretion stay the flow of your immoderate grieving, which hath instructed you, both by example and knowledge, that nothing of this kind hath happened but by God's providence, and that these lines from

your loving and gracious sovereign serve to assure you that there shall ever remain the lively character of you and yours that are left, in valuing rightly all their faithful and honest endeavours.

More at this time I will not write of this *unsilent* subject, but have despatched this gentleman to visit both your lord, and to condole with you in the true sense of our love, and to pray you, that the world may see that what time cureth in weak minds, that discretion and moderation help you in this accident, where there is so opportune occasion to demonstrate true patience and moderation.

To Phil Okehover :

We hear that in some displeasure you have disinherited your only daughter, married to Sir Antony Ashley, clerk of the Council, drawn thereto by doubting that we, being offended with him, would ruin his estate ; but as this is not the case, and as the party upon whom the lands were assured has died without issue, we wish to prove that our displeasure is not vehement, and that our clemency much more abounding, we can be content to promote his good. We wish you not to divert from your daughter those monuments of love which parents do not, without great cause, divert from their children. We have overcome greater offences, and may hereafter so favour him that you should rather wish to give more than abate anything. We will take your compliance as an argument of dutiful regard.¹

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1598-1601, p. 506.

To Master W. Masters, the orator of King's College, Cambridge, who was kneeling on the first step of the west door as he delivered his half-hour oration of welcome. She had several times interrupted him to decry his praises of her, but when he praised virginity, she exclaimed :

God's blessing on thine heart, there continue. [And when he had completed his task, she said] : I would answer you in Latin, but for fear I should speak false Latin, and then they would laugh at me.

To the officials of King's, Cambridge, at the end of her entertainment there.

If there were greater provision of beer and ale, I should remain until Friday ! [Three days more.]

To the University of Cambridge, closing her speech in Latin :

It is time, then, that your ears, which have been so long detained by this barbarous sort of an oration, should now be released from the pain of it. [At this, the students burst out with : *Vivat Regina!* (Long live the Queen !)] Her rejoinder was :] *Taceat Regina!* [Be quiet, Queen !]—and I hope that all you who heard me have drunk of Lethe.

To the Earl of Bedford when sending him with a baptismal font of gold for the christening of the son of Mary Queen of Scots :

If you find it is too small, you may observe that our sister has only to keep it for the next.

To Henry IV., on the death of Don Antonio, the Pretender to the Portuguese throne ; 1595, æt. 62 :

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE KING OF FRANCE

If the spirit of one departed could disturb a living friend, I should fear that the late King Anthony (whose soul may God pardon) would pursue me in all places, if I did not perform his last request, which charged me, by all our friendship, that I should remind you, after his death, of the good and honourable offers which you made to him, while living, that you might be pleased to fulfil them, in the persons of his orphans and son, which I must own to be an office worthy of such a prince, who will not forget, I feel assured, the wishes of him who can no longer himself return thanks, and that you will not omit the opportunity of being crowned with that true glory which shall sound the trumpet to your honour.

I am not so presumptuous as to prescribe to you what it befits you to do, but submit the case to your sound judgment, as you must know, better than any one else, what will be most suitable to the state of your realm. Only having acquitted myself of my charge, I implore you to treat this desolate prince so well, that he may know who it is that has written for him, and have him in your good favour.

Praying the Lord God to preserve you for many years, which is the desire of,—Your very affectionate sister,

ELIZABETH.¹

¹ Translation from the French original in the Imperial Autograph Collection at Petrograd. This translation was made before the present troubles in Russia, and I cannot now vouch for the existence of the MS. Its date is 1595.

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To Fénelon and Mauvissière, upon the birth of a princess to Charles IX. :

He who begins with a girl is succeeded by a boy.

To the kneeling House of Commons on dissolving Parliament in 1601, the last time she ever addressed such a body :

Mr. Speaker, We have heard your declaration and perceive your care of our State, by falling into the consideration of a grateful acknowledgment of such benefits as you have received ; and that your coming is to present thanks unto us, which I accept with no less joy than your loves can have desire to offer such a present. I do assure you that there is no prince that loveth his subjects better, or whose love can countervail our love ; there is no jewel, be it of never so rich a prize, which I prefer before this jewel ; I mean your love, for I do more esteem it than any treasure or riches : for that we know how to prize ; but love and thanks I count inestimably. And though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my crown : That I have reigned with your loves. This makes me that I do not so much rejoice that God hath made me to be a Queen, as to be a Queen over so thankful a people.

Therefore I have cause to wish nothing more than to content the subject, and that is a duty which I owe. Neither do I desire to live longer days than that I may see your prosperity ; and that 's my only desire. And as I am that person that still, yet under God, hath delivered you, so I trust, by the almighty power

of God, that I still shall be his instrument to preserve you from envy, peril, dishonour, shame, tyranny and oppression, partly by means of your intended helps, which we take very acceptably, because it manifesteth the largeness of your loves and loyalties unto your Sovereign. Of myself, I must say this : I never was any greedy, scraping grasper, nor a strait fast-holding prince, nor yet a waster. My heart was never set on worldly goods, but only for my subjects' good. What you do bestow on me I will not hoard it up, but receive it to bestow on you again. Yea, mine own properties I count yours to be expended for your good. Therefore render unto them from me I beseech you, Mr. Speaker, such thanks as you imagine my heart yieldeth, but my tongue cannot express. Mr. Speaker, I would wish you and the rest to stand up, for I shall yet trouble you with longer speech. Mr. Speaker, you give me thanks, but I doubt me I have more cause to thank you all than you me. Since I was Queen, yet did I never put my pen to any grant, but that, upon pretext and semblance made unto me, that it was both good and beneficial to the subjects in general, though a private profit to some of my antient servants who had deserved well. . . . Far above all earthly treasure, I esteem my people's love, more than which I desire not to merit. That my grants should be grievous to my people, and oppressions to be priviledged under colour of our patents, our kingly dignity shall not suffer it. Yea, when I heard it I could give no rest to my thoughts until I had

reformed it. Shall they think to escape unpunished, that have thus oppressed you, and have been respectless of their duty, and regardless of our honour? No, Mr. Speaker, I assure you, were it not more for conscience sake than for any glory or increase of love that I desire these errors, troubles, vexations and oppressions done by these varlets and lewd persons, not worthy the name of subjects, they should not escape without condign punishment; But I perceive they dealt with me like physicians, who ministring a drug make it more acceptable by giving it a good aromatical savour, or when they give pills do gild them all over. I have ever used to set the last Judgment Day before mine eyes, and so to rule as I shall be judged to answer before a higher judge, to whose judgment seat I do appeal that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good. And now if my kingly bounty have been abused and my grants turned to the hurt of my people, contrary to my will and meaning; or if any in authority under me have rejected or perverted what I have committed to them, I hope God will not lay their culps and offences to my charge; and though there were danger in repealing our grants, yet what danger would not I rather incur for your good than I would suffer them still to continue?

I know the title of a King is a glorious title; but assure yourselves that the shining glory of princely authority hath not so dazzled the eyes of our understanding but that we will know and remember that

we also are to yield an account of our actions before the great Judge.

To be a king and wear a crown is more glorious to them that see it than it is pleasure to them that bear it.

For myself, I was never so much enticed with the glorious name of a King, or royal authority of a Queen, as delighted that God hath made me this instrument to maintain His truth and glory, and to defend this kingdom (as I said) from peril, dishonour, tyranny and oppression.

There will never Queen sit in my seat with more zeal to my country, care to my subjects, and that will sooner with willingness yield and venture her life for your good and safety than myself. And though you have had and may have many princes more mighty and wise sitting in this seat, yet you never had or shall have any that will be more careful and loving. Should I ascribe anything to myself as to my sexly weakness, I were not worthy to live then and of all most unworthy of the mercies I have had from God, who hath ever yet given me a heart which never yet feared foreign or home enemies. I speak it to give God the praise as a testimony before you and not to attribute anything unto myself. For I, O Lord, what am I, whom practices and perils past should not fear! Oh! what can I do that I should speak for any glory! God forbid. This, Mr. Speaker, I pray you deliver unto the House, to whom heartily recommend me.

And so I commit you all to your best fortunes,

and further counsels. And I pray you, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Secretary, and you of my Council, that before these gentlemen depart into their countries, you bring them all to kiss my hand.¹

To Lord Buckhurst, to deliver to her godson, Harrington, whom Essex had knighted without proper authority. The date of the Saying is in the midst of the rebellion of Essex, with whom Harrington had been very intimate :

Go tell that witty fellow, my godson, to get home. It is no season to fool it here ! [Harrington relates that “ I liked this as little as she doth my knighthood, so took to my boots.”]

To Lambarde, the antiquary, who in 1601, at the age of 65—and she would be 68 in a month—presented to her a copy of his latest book, Pandecta of the Tower Records. The account is Lambarde’s own record of the audience :

“ That which passed from the Excellent Majestie of Queen Elizabeth, in her Privie Chamber at East Greenwich, 4^o Augusti 1601, 43^o reg. sui, towards William Lambarde.

“ He presented her Majestie with his Pandecta of all her rolls, bundells, membranes, and parcels, that be reposed in her Majestie’s Tower at London ; whereof she had given to him the charge 21st Jan. last past.

“ *Her Majesty* chearfullie received the same into her hands, saying, ‘ You intended to present this book unto me by the Countesse of Warwicke ; but I will

¹ D’Ewes, *Journal*, p. 659.

none of that ; for if any subject of mine do me a service, I will thankfully accept it from his own hands ' : then opening the book, said, ' You shall see that I can read ' ; and so, with an audible voice, read over the epistle, and the title, so readily, and distinctly pointed, that it might perfectly appear, that she well understood, and conceived the same. Then she descended from the beginning of King John, till the end of Richard III., that is 64 pages, serving XI. kings, containing 286 years : in the first page she demanded the meaning of ' *oblata* ' *cartae, litterae clausae, et litterae patentes.*

" W. L.—He severally expounded the right meaning, and laid out the true differences of every of them ; her Majestie seeming well satisfied, and said, ' that she would be a scholar in her age, and thought it no scorn to learn during her life, being of the mind of that philosopher, who in his last years began with the Greek alphabet.' Then she proceeded to further pages, and asked, where she found cause of stay, as what *ordinationes, parlamenta, rotulus cambii, rediseisnes.*

" W. L.—He likewise expounded these all according to their original diversities, which she took in gracious and full satisfaction ; so her Majestie fell upon the reign of King Richard II., saying, ' I am Richard II. know ye not that ? '

" W. L.—' Such a wicked imagination was determined and attempted by a most unkind gent. the most adorned creature that ever your Majestie made.'

" *Her Majestie.*—' He that will forget God, will also

forget his benefactors ; this tragedie was played 40^{tie} times in open streets and houses.'

" *Her Majestie* demanded ' What was *praestita* ? '

" W. L.—He expounded it to be ' monies lent by her progenitors to her subjects for their good, but with assurance of good bond for repayment.'

" *Her Majestie*.—' So did my good grandfather King Henry VII. sparing to dissipate his treasure or lands.' Then returning to Richard II. she demanded, ' Whether I had seen any true picture, or likely representation, of his countenance and person ? '

" W. L.—' None but such as be in common hands.'

" *Her Majestie*.—' The Lord Lumley, a lover of antiquities, discovered it fastened on the backside of a base room ; which he presented unto me, praying, with my good leave, that I might put it in order with the ancestors and successors ; I will command Thomas Kneabet, keeper of my house and gallery at Westminster, to shew it unto thee.'

" Then she proceeded to the Rolls, *Romae, Vascon. Aquitaniae, Franciae, Scotiae, Walliae, et Hiberniae*.

" W. L.—He expounded these to be records of estate, and negotiations with foreign princes or counteries.

" *Her Majestie* demanded again, ' if *rediseisnes* were unlawful and forcible throwing men out of their lawful possessions ? '

" W. L.—' Yea, and therefore these be the rolls of fines assessed and levied upon such wrong doers, as well as for the great and wilful contempt of the

crown and royal dignity, as disturbance of common justice.'

" *Her Majestie*.—' In those days force and arms did prevail ; but now the wit of the fox is every where on foot, so as hardly a faithful and vertuouse man may be found.' Then came she to the whole total of all the membranes and parcels aforesaid, amounting to . . . ; commending the work ; ' not only for the pains therein taken, but also for that she had not received since her first coming to the crown any one thing that brought therewith so great delectation unto her ' ; and so being called away to prayer, she put the book in her bosom, having forbidden me from the first to the last to fall upon my knee before her ; concluding, ' Farewell, good and honest Lambarde ! ' " [Lambarde died fifteen days after the interview.]

VII

MARRIAGE: GENERAL

To ———, reported by the Ambassador from Venice ; 1556, æt. 23 :

I shall not marry even if you give me Don Carlos [the son of Philip II. of Spain] or any other greater prince.¹

To Sir Thomas Pope, who urged her to marry, 1558, when she had just told him that she would not marry anybody :

What I shall do hereafter I know not ; but I assure you, upon my faith and fidelity, and as God be merciful unto me, I am not at this time otherwise minded than I have declared unto you. No, though I were offered the greatest prince in all Europe.

To the Speaker, Knights, and Burgesses of the Lower House who laid an address before her in the great gallery of Whitehall Palace urging her to marry ; 1559 :

From my years of understanding, knowing myself a servitor of Almighty God, I chose this kind of life, in which I do yet live, as a life most acceptable to Him, wherein I thought I could best serve Him. From which my choice, if ambition of high estate offered me in marriage, the displeasure of the prince, the

¹ Translation from the Italian. Cf. *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, vol. vi. Part I.

eschewing the danger of mine enemies, or the avoiding the peril of death (whose messenger, the princess' indignation, was continually present before mine eyes)—by whose means, if I knew, or do justly suspect, I will not now utter them ; or if the whole cause were my sister herself, I will not now charge the dead—could all have drawn or dissuaded me, I had not now remained in this virgin's estate wherein you see me. But so constant have I always continued in this my determination, that though my words and youth may seem hardly to agree together, yet it is true that to this day I stand free from any other meaning.

And albeit, it doth please Almighty God, to continue me still in the mind to live out of the state of marriage, it is not to be feared but he will so work in my heart and in your wisdoms, that as good provision may be made in convenient time, whereby the realm shall not remain destitute of an heir, that may be a fit governor, and, peradventure, more beneficial to the realm, than such offspring as may come of me. For though I be never so careful for your well doings, yet may mine issue grow out of kind and become ungracious. [She then drew from her finger her coronation ring, and showing it to the commons, said to them :] When I received this ring I solemnly bound myself in marriage to the realm ; and it will be quite sufficient for the memorial of my name and for my glory, if, when I die, an inscription be engraved on a marble tomb, saying, “ Here lieth Elizabeth, which reigned a virgin, and died a virgin.”

To Parliament, on its requesting her to marry and to name a successor :

I have not bound myself by any vow of celibacy never to trade in that kind of life called marriage. I think it best for private women ; but as a prince I endeavour to bend my mind to it.

Document sent to Mundt, her political agent in Germany :

THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE

Inquiries to be made of Mundt respecting the age, stature, height, fatness, strength, complexion, nature, conditions, positions, studies, education, faculties, affections, temper, judgment in the matters of religion, affection to the Protestants, etc. of some person not named. Whether he hath been noted to have loved any woman, and in what sort ? Whether there hath been communication for marriage with him, either privately or otherwise for any woman ? What judgment he hath in matter of religion ? How is he affected to Protestants ? What company he most delighteth in ? Wherein doth he spend his time most ? How is he disposed in eating or drinking ? What is specially and singularly noted in him for any property that he hath ? What judgment hath the Protestants of him ? What estate keepeth he ? What numbers about him, and to what is he most addicted ? What assignations of livelode hath he ? How many children hath the eldest ? How loveth he the youngest ? What judgment is had of the second ? What is the opinion there of this matter ? Who liketh it and who mis-

liketh it? What hope is there to attain it or not? What valour or credit is this Baron of? Who be named to come on embassade? What is said shall be given unto him if this suit might be obtained?

To the Spanish Ambassador ; 1561 :

I wish to confess to you, and tell you my secret, which is that I am no angel, and do not deny that I have some affection for Lord Robert [Leycester] for the many good qualities he possesses ; but I certainly have never decided to marry him nor any one else, although I daily see more clearly the necessity of it.¹

To Guilderstern, the Swedish Ambassador in London ; 1561, æt. 28 :

I cannot yet lead myself to marriage ; but I see it will be necessary ; the safety of my kingdom requires that I shall bring myself to it, so I have changed my first purpose and am thinking of it.²

To the Swedish Ambassador :

I do not deny that I love your master, but as friends are wont to regard one another with mutual affection ; for to love any one in the way that those who are about to contract a marriage should do is something I cannot do at all before God gives me that emotion.³

To the Swedish Ambassador :

Verily I call God to witness that I never should

¹ Translation from Spanish original ; Simancas MS. Cf. *S.P. Simancas*, vol. i.

² Translation from Latin MS., P.R.O. ; transcript, Sweden.

³ *Idem.*

wish to think of contracting marriage with any one if I were living in a different condition than that in which I am now. But what may now happen the same God himself knows, for I see that because of the urgent needs of my kingdom I may be compelled to make a marriage with some one for the sake of having an heir.¹

To the Swedish Ambassador :

There are no more limitations on me as to whom I shall marry than upon other princes and on my own father [Henry VIII.], who married several times a native of his own country and kept his authority in spite of it and as fully as if he had married abroad ; and he was dreaded by his enemies and by his neighbours to such an extent that they sought his friendship instead of his enmity.²

To the Duke of Norfolk, heading a delegation urging her to marry ; 1562 :

At my own time I shall turn my mind to marriage if it be for the public good.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg ; 1564 :

It will be very easy to agree about the conditions for my marriage when it is settled who is to be the bridegroom.³

¹ Translation from Latin MS., P.R.O. ; transcript, Sweden.

² *Idem.*

³ This and the eight succeeding Sayings are translations from the Latin work, *Arcana seculi decimi sexti* . . . by H. Languet, ed. 1699 ; Allinga's Report, Feb. 4, 1564.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

Though I am not imperial, and though Elizabeth may not deserve it, the Queen of England will easily deserve to have an emperor's son to marry.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

I would rather be a beggar and single than a queen and married.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

I have never been able to be so allured by the prospect of advantages or so terrified by misfortunes, swayed by honours or fettered by affection, nay not even so smitten by the fear of death, as to enter upon marriage.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

I should call the wedding-ring the yoke-ring.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

I will not make the mistake of disclosing anything about my consent to this or to that marriage. I deserve to have the first approaches made to me. It is a question of the Kingship, and any one who wants to get that must make his own advances.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

Many people regard it as incredible that I should shrink from matrimony, but nevertheless that is the plain fact of the case.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

I am attracted to perpetual spinsterhood not by prejudice, but rather by natural inclination.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

I love a friend as myself, but I should love a husband more than myself, since I should be giving myself to him, representing, as he would, the very summit of love.

To de Foix, the French Ambassador :

If I marry I do not mean to follow your advice by wedding a subject. I have it in my power to marry a king, if I please, or a powerful prince, so as to overawe France.

To Fénelon and de la Mole :

Although I desire to sacrifice myself for my subjects, I do not wish to go to the length of incurring the extreme misery of an unhappy marriage, for that would be for me a perpetual hell on earth.¹

To Fénelon, the French Ambassador, who told her that any princess to acquire perfect happiness should marry into the French royal family. The women mentioned were the notorious mistresses of French royalty :

Madame d'Estampes and Madame de Valentinois make me fear that I should be only honoured by my husband as a queen and not loved by him as a woman.

To Fénelon, who had observed that he would like to congratulate her on her marriage :

I formerly assured you that I never meant to marry, but I regret now that I had not thought in time about

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. v. p. 102, Aug. 28, 1572 :
 "Car ce luy seroit vng perpétuel enfer en ce monde."

my want of posterity ; and if I ever do marry it will be only with the prince of a royal house of suitable rank with my own.

To Fénelon, the first time she gave him audience after the marriage of his king, Charles IX. :

How does your master find himself as a married man ? The record of the gallantries of his Majesty's father and grandfather, Francis I. and Henry II., incline me to fear he will follow their example. [“ And thereupon,” writes the Ambassador, “ she revealed to me a secret concerning your Majesty which, Sire, I confess I had never heard before.”]

To the French Ambassador :

If I thought that one of my subjects was so presumptuous as to seek me for his wife, I would never want to see him, and I would give him a bad time, although it would be against my nature, which contains no cruelty.¹

To the French Ambassador ; 1566 :

I am resolved to marry when the necessity of my affairs and the welfare of my subjects require it ; but I believe it better to marry a foreigner rather than one of my own kingdom for my honour and grandeur. Nevertheless, if there be no foreigner agreeable to me, nor one who can comply with my conditions, I shall be compelled to marry within my own kingdom ; I shall then choose no other than the Earl of Leicester

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper.

because of the merits and virtues which I know him to possess.¹

To the French Ambassador ; temp. c. 1565 :

On my life I would marry only a prince of a great and illustrious house no less important than my own, more for the good of my state than for any affection I might have.²

To Fénelon :

The most gallant gentleman, and the most accomplished, who dwells to-day amongst mortal men, is nothing to me if he is not of royal blood and lineage.³

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador :

The world, when a woman remains single, assumes that there must be something wrong about her, and that she has some discreditable reason for it. They said of me that I would not marry because I was in love with the Earl of Leycester, and that I could not marry him because he had a wife already ; yet now he has no wife ; and nevertheless I do not marry him, although at one time the king my brother [Philip II.] advised me to do it.⁴

To one of her Council :

If my subjects love me and wish to see me live and to be ruled by my posterity, they must leave me to marry or not and to take any husband I choose.

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper.

² *Idem.*

³ *Idem*, vol. v. p. 465, Dec. 17, 1573.

⁴ Translation from Spanish original ; Simancas MS. Cf. *S.P. Simancas*, vol. i. p. 387.

To Fénelon, the French Ambassador ; 1571 :

I am determined to marry, not because of any wish of my own, but for the satisfaction of my subjects ; and also to put an end, by the authority of a husband or by the birth of offspring, if it shall please God to give them to me, to the enterprises which I feel will perpetually be made against me and my realm, if I become so old a woman that there be no longer any pretence for taking a husband or hope that I may have children. In truth, I greatly fear not being loved by my husband, which would be a greater misfortune than the first, for it would be worse than death, and I cannot bear to reflect upon such a possibility.¹

To Fénelon, on her visit to open the structure which "her merchant," as the Queen always called Gresham, erected at his own expense to harbour the merchants of London who up to then had to meet out of doors in Lombard Street in fair weather, and in the nave of St. Paul's in foul. On this occasion she named the new building "The Royal Exchange." On her return through the city after dark, her journey was illuminated by thousands of torches whose bearers escorted her to the palace with continuous shouts of admiration and affection—one of those entirely unpremeditated and unarranged demonstrations of the real love the majority of her subjects entertained for her which occurred not infrequently, indeed almost every time she appeared in public. This time the Queen was deeply touched and said :

Do not these scenes remind you in a small way of the late celebrations at Paris in honour of the public entrance of the King of France and his new bride ?

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper.

It does my heart good to see myself so much beloved and desired by my subjects ; I know that my people have no other cause for regret than that they know me to be but mortal, and therefore they have no certainty of a successor born of me to reign over them after my death.

To Kate Ashley, her old nurse, who was still urging her to marry Leycester when they were both forty-three years of age :

What ! Shall I so far forget myself as to prefer a poor servant of my own making to the first princes in Christendom ?

To Sir William Drury, who was asking her to accept Alençon. Giving him a great clap of the shoulder with her hand, she answered :

I will never marry ; but I will ever bear good will and favour to those who have liked and furthered the same.

To her Council :

If, to annul the various claims that are made to the English succession, I am compelled to marry, I am quite resolved that it shall not be with one of my own subjects.¹

To the French Ambassador :

I desire to marry for two reasons, one for the welfare and peace of my subjects, to leave them a certain successor. In marrying I hope soon to have children, to which I know no obstacle. If I thought there was

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iii. p. 77, March 4, 1570.

the faintest doubt in the world of that matter I should be very loath to marry myself. The other reason for marrying is to acquire honour and grandeur, of which I am by nature more desirous than needy ; nevertheless I think that I am offending neither God nor man in seeking greatness by just and reasonable means.¹

To the Ambassador of Ferdinand, the Emperor, who was urging her to marry the Archduke Charles :

I shall never have a husband who will sit all day by the fire. When I marry it will be with a man who can ride, and hunt, and fight.

To Fénelon, who hoped that “ a cloud [Anjou’s refusal to wed her several years earlier, before he was King of Poland or of France, as he had just become], [which] had a little darkened the relations between her and his new sovereign, would not cast any shadow on their co-operation ” :

The cloud you speak of has wholly passed by, and many other things have intervened, which have made me forget all the past ; indeed, it was but yesterday that one of my people observed to me that I had made a difficulty of espousing Henry, because he was not a king ; he is at present doubly king, therefore I ought to be content. I replied that Henry III. had always been right royal, but that a matter more high than crowns had parted us ; even religion, which had often made crowned heads renounce the world altogether, in order to follow God, and that neither I nor the King ought to repine at what we have done.²

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper.

² *Idem.*

To the French Ambassador :

It is not yet decided that I shall ever marry ; and whoever the man may be, if he had not great means, he would acquire great power by his marriage, to execute any ill designs he might possess. Therefore I have decided never to give up to my husband anything, neither property, nor power, nor opportunities for acquiring it, for I want to make use of him only to leave a successor to my subjects.¹

To the French Ambassador :

When I think of marriage, it is as though my heart were being dragged out of my vitals, so much am I opposed to marriage by nature ; but if the welfare of my subjects compels me to marry, I shall marry outside of my kingdom.²

To Fénelon :

I beg you to believe that I have never suffered such a great constraint, not even when I was thrown into the Tower, as I do in forcing and compelling myself to resolve on marriage.³

To Fénelon :

I do not want a husband who honours me as a queen, if he does not love me as a woman.⁴

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador :

I promise you, if I could to-day appoint such a successor to the Crown as would please me and the

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper.

² *Idem.*

³ *Idem.*

⁴ *Idem.*, vol. iii. p. 439.

country, I would not marry, as that is a thing for which I have never had any inclination.¹

To one of her young ladies-in-waiting, who, to Elizabeth's inquiry if she loved marriage, had replied, "I have thought much about marriage, and if my father will consent to the man I love" :

You seem honest, i' faith. I will sue for you to your father. [The father consented and the Queen told him :] Then I will do the rest. [So she sent for the girl and said to her :] Your father has given his free consent. ["Then," replied the maid, "I shall be happy, and please your Grace." The Queen then interjected :] So thou shalt—but not to be a fool and marry. I have his consent given to me, and I vow thou shalt never get it in thy possession. So, go to thy business. I see thou art a bold one to own thy foolishness so readily.

To Melville, the Scottish Ambassador, who had told her that her father, Henry VIII., had thought of nominating James V. of Scotland as his heir :

I am glad he did not. I never mind to marry except I am compelled to do it by the queen my sister's [Mary Queen of Scots] hard behaviour of me.

To the French Ambassador ; 1599, æt. 65 :

I have a great regret at never having married, for-seeing the evils which threaten my subjects after my death ; there is no prince in Christendom who has not courted me ; but I never had any inclination to marry.

¹ Translation ; *Cal. S.P. Simancas*, 1565.

VIII

MARRIAGE: CONCRETE

To King Erick of Sweden ; 1561 :

If I do not marry your Majesty, then heaven will fall and it is all over with England, for your Majesty knows well how that my sex is rushed headlong into everything, and especially so in affairs of this sort.

To the envoys of Erick of Sweden, who were urging her to marry him :

I have no desire to marry and much prefer a single life, and I hope your master will no longer waste his time in waiting for me.

To Guilderstern, Swedish Ambassador, who was urging the marriage and trying to get her to promise her hand before she saw the King :

If your king is not enough in love with me to come and try his luck, even if he be doubtful of his success, I do not care very much.

To the Spanish Ambassador regarding the match with the Austrian royal house :

I do not dare summon the Archduke, for I fear he might not be satisfied with me. . . . He may not be dissatisfied with what he sees, but with what he hears about me, for you know there are people in the

country who take pleasure in saying anything that comes into their heads about me.

To the Spanish Ambassador, who was urging her to marry the Austrian Archduke :

If the emperor would have me for a daughter he would not be doing too much by sending his son here without so many safeguards. I do not hold myself of so small account that the emperor need sacrifice any dignity in doing it. . . . I shall never supplicate and summon his son ; I would rather die a thousand deaths. It is not fit for a queen and a maiden to summon anyone to marry her.¹

To de Vualfrind, on the subject of the marriage of the Archduke Charles of Austria with his niece :

The Archduke will be much obliged to me for refusing him, since he has found a better than me, and where love could not fail, for if they could not love each other as spouses, they might love as relations ; and I also hope, on my part, to find better than him, and so the regret will cease on both sides. I did not refuse him, but only delayed my answer, and he had not been willing to wait.

To the French Ambassador ; 1565, æt. 32. He was urging her to marry Charles IX. of France, who was seventeen years her junior and only sixteen :

I fear that the Queen Mother has not been fully informed of my age, which is such that I am afraid

¹ Translation ; Simancas MS., de Quadra to the Emperor, Oct. 3, 1559.

the King and she would reproach themselves and that discontent will be my lot, for I shall be disagreeable and be neglected by him as the late Queen Mary, my sister, was by the King of Spain . . . and I should rather die than find myself despised and neglected.¹

To the French Ambassador, referring to the same proposal :

The first and most important objection proceeds from the unequal ages, which, I fear, will cause dissatisfaction to the King and neglect to me, which, if it does not happen for several years, will occur in twelve or fifteen and be the cause of shortening my life. The other objection is that I have neither sister, niece nor nearer relative to whom I could entrust the government when I am absent from the Kingdom. . . .²

To de Foix, French Ambassador, who was urging her to accept Charles IX. :

I find myself, on the one hand, much honoured by the proposal of the French king ; on the other, I am older than he, and would rather die than see myself despised and neglected. My subjects, I am assured, would oppose no obstacle, if it were my wish, for they have more than once prayed me to marry after my own inclination. It is true they have said, " that it would pleasure us if her choice should fall on an Englishman." In England, however, there is no one disposable in marriage but the Earl of Arundel, and he is further removed from the match than the east

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper.

² *Idem.*

from the west ; and as to the Earl of Leycester, I have always loved his virtues. But the aspirations towards honour and greatness which are in me cannot suffer him as a companion and a husband.¹

To Fénelon, of the same match :

The King will have none of me, for he would be ashamed to show, at an entry into Paris, a queen for his wife so old as I am, and I am not of an age to leave my country, like the Queen of Scots, who was taken young to France.²

To Walsingham, her Ambassador in France, on the subject of the French proposal that she marry the French Prince, Anjou. [To avoid confusion, I must add that whenever I say "Anjou" or the "Duke of Anjou" and do not add "Alençon," I refer not to the latter but to his brother, who later became Henry III. of France. The liability of misunderstanding arises through the fact that each Prince became a "Duke of Anjou." The suit of the Duke who later became King preceded that of his brother Alençon] :

You may constantly answer that . . . we [are] resolved, for the benefit of our Realm, and contentation of our Subjects, to marry with some person of Kingly blood and quality, meet for us and our Country ; and that we are free from all manner of impediments to marry where we shall please. . . .

In the beginning of our Reign, that is not unknown how we had no disposition of our own nature to marry, no otherwise than it is manifestly known that when the King our dear Father reigned, and many times

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper.

² *Idem.*

pressed us earnestly to marry ; nor when in the late King our Brothers time, the like was renewed unto us ; even for such as then presently were in real possession of Kingdoms, when we lived but in a private state as a daughter, or as sister of a King, yet could we never induce our mind to marry, but rather did satisfy our self with a solitary life. If also it be considered, who they were that in the first part of our Reign motioned marriage unto us, and how inconvenient such a match was both for our self, for matter of conscience, and for discontentation of our people, as then the time was, we doubt not we might challenge to our selves some praise, in that we yielded not thereto, when all other worldly respects of honour, wealth and greatness, besides the worthiness of the person, were evident to have provoked us thereto. . . .

Nevertheless, after some course of years passed, we confess that the state of our Realm, the continual urgent and frequent solicitations, not only of our Counsellors, to whom we always think meet to give ear, but also of the whole Estates of our Subjects, being many times assembled in our Parliament, did stir us to some further consideration by the weight of their reasons, than naturally of our self we had been induced unto.

And therefore we yielded thus far to their importunity, that for such great necessities concerning the universal state of our Realm, as were plainly laid before us, we would not refuse to hear of any honourable motions to be made to us for any person of a

Royal blood, that might be meet for us and our Realm ; and that we would commend our heart to be directed by Almighty God, to follow that which might be to the comfort of our loving Subjects : And this mind we did continue, and did so far proceed, as reasonably we might with our honour, and with regard to the estate of our Policy. And howsoever the world may misjudge of prolongation of such matters by us, certainly the same was not of any intent in us to continue the same without purpose to conclude. . . .

The second point is to know whether . . . they might be assured of our continuance in this resolution, and whether we will accept this motion in good part, and will be pleased to hear further of it ? . . . And herein you shall say that we pray the Queen Mother not to be over curious in requiring so precise an answer, until the matter may be further treated upon and explained ; and not to think it any touch to the honour of her Son, to be named a Suitor to us, as others of as great degree have been. . . . And you shall say to the Queen Mother that she shall not mislike of us, though we think so well of our selves and our estate, that if God shall order this her motion to take effect, it shall be the best marriage for the honour of the King her Son, for the weal of his Crown, and for the commendation of the Queen Mother, that any Queen attempted this many hundred years for France.

To Fénelon, the French Ambassador, when he was urging her acceptance of Anjou :

I object to nothing except his age. [The Ambassador

then said : “ The Prince bears himself already like a man.” The Queen at once observed :] But he can never cease to be younger than me. [Leycester, who was present, interjected : “ So much the better for your Majesty.”]¹

To Fénelon, the French Ambassador :

Anjou is worthy of the highest destiny the world could bestow, but I believe his thoughts are lodged on a fairer object [the Princess of Cleves] than myself who am already an old woman, and who except for the sake of heirs would be ashamed to speak of a husband ; I have formerly been sought by some who wished to marry my kingdom, but not the queen, as indeed generally happened among the great who married without seeing one another.²

To Fénelon, upon his urging that the French royal family feared to proceed with their offer of Anjou for her husband because they thought she had not always been in earnest in similar negotiations with other royal houses :

When the King of Spain first proposed to me I immediately excused myself on a scruple of conscience, which would not permit me to espouse one who had been my sister's husband ; as to the Princes of Sweden and Denmark, I had, within eight days, replied to them, “ that I had no inclination then to marry,” so that they had no occasion to wait ; and as for the proposal of the King, Charles ix., which was made

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper.

² *Idem.*

when he was very young, I also did all that was proper to let him understand my mind. The Archduke, I must confess, has been kept longer in suspense, because of the troubles and hindrances that were happening in the world ; but it might nevertheless be seen that I had used no deceit towards him. When Monsieur shall be my lord and husband, the prosperity and peace of England will be his concern no less than mine, and he would see that the dangers caused by the intrigues of the Queen of Scots would be more easy to parry while she was in my care, than if she were at large.¹

To de Foix, the French Ambassador, when he urged upon her that as Helena, mother of Constantine, had converted him, and the wife of the King of Navarre had done the same with that monarch, Elizabeth might have similar success in weaning from the Catholic religion Anjou, whom the Ambassador was urging her to wed :²

Although it would be a glory to me to imitate the Empress Helena in so great a thing, yet it by no means follows that such will be the case with regard to Monsieur, for there are fully as many wives converted by their husbands as husbands by their wives.

To Lady Cobham, who, on the ground of his youth—he was eighteen years her junior—had opposed her marriage with the French prince, Anjou :

There is but ten years difference in our ages ! It might possibly be better if the prince were my senior, but since it has pleased God to have him the younger,

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iv. p. 64.

² *Idem.*

I hope that he will be contented with my other advantages. [Of course Lady Cobham did not venture to dispute the arithmetical error which the Queen had made.]

To a member of her Council when he observed that Anjou seemed to be very young for her :

What then, if the prince be satisfied with me ?

To her ladies, when the hand of Anjou had been formally offered her :

My people have often pressed me to marry, but my ministers always annexed such hard conditions to the treaty as to keep me from doing it. I shall now know who are my good and faithful subjects, and you may well note that I shall hold as disloyal any who attempt to oppose me in such an honourable match as this one.

To Walsingham, her Ambassador in Paris, on the same proposal :

You may say [to the French King] as of yourself, that you are not . . . acquainted with the marriage of the children of France ; yet you dare affirm that you know there can be no example shewed of the like of this ; that is, that either elder son of France, or any younger, was at any time to be matched in Marriage with such a Prince, having such Kingdoms as we have, by whom such an advancement might have grown as may by Marriage with us, both to the Duke himself, and to the King and Crown of France ; and therefore this special cause can have no former example answerable to rule this. . . .

To Walsingham, her Ambassador in Paris, on the same proposal :

You shall do well with convenient speed to demand audience of the King, and there to declare both to him and to the Queen Mother [that for] the King to destroy and utterly root out of his Realm all those of that Religion that we profess and to desire us in marriage for his brother, must needs seem unto us at the first a thing very repugnant in itself, especially having before confirmed that liberty to them of the Religion by an Edict of his, perpetual and irrevocable. Of the which to whom that liberty was granted, if any were partakers of any evil conspiracies against him, specially women and children, who we do understand are not yet spared. And therefore if that Religion of itself be so odious unto him, that he thinks he must root out all the professors of it, how should we think his brother a fit husband for us ? Or how should we think that the love may grow, continue and increase betwixt his brother and us, which ought to be betwixt the husband and the wife ?

To Fénelon, discussing her marriage with Anjou :

He will become then half of me, and in our union will consist the security of the realm.

To Fénelon, who had brought word that his royal master opposed Elizabeth's insistence that Alençon must come over to see her before she would further consider marrying him, the French point being that if she were to refuse him after seeing him it would be derogatory to him :

I entreat that neither the King of France, the Queen

Mother, nor you will believe me to be capable of such baseness as to speak of an interview with a prince of Alençon's high rank, if I were not disposed to marry him. It was long before I could overcome my reluctance to the wedded state ; and now that I have gained that victory over myself, I am disposed to use it for the purpose of strengthening the bonds of friendship between the royal house of France and myself. I desire the interview as much for the satisfaction of the Duke, as for my own ; to the end, that he may not be compelled to espouse a woman whom he could not love, and, on my own account, I wish to see if I can be loved by him, and also if the disparity of his age, and what has been reported of his face, are objections that can be overcome, and if I cannot have this satisfaction, then I must beg you to tell the King and his mother, that the matter is at an end.¹

To Fénelon, on the same subject :

After having heard the opinions of my Council, I find myself in a greater perplexity than ever ; for though they all wish me to marry, they agree with me, that it is impossible to advance any further in the treaty till I have seen what manner of man the Duke of Alençon really is ; and for me, I am determined not to judge of him by any other witness than that of my own eyes ; I am sure some ill will come of it if we marry without some previous affection, such as is usually acquired by sight ; and by my Creator, the

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper.

doubts I have make me fear and repent of having gone as far as I have.¹

To Paulet, her Ambassador in Paris, on the tactics of the French in negotiating for her marriage with Alençon :

These proceedings [made it] apparent to all . . . that our fortune and not our person was what they aimed at. For if there was as much affection as they would have the world believe, neither would the Duke have charged him to insist on so hard conditions, nor have made so many difficulties about coming himself to see us without standing on ceremony, being persuaded that the Duke of Anjou [Alençon, now become the Duke] would do no hurt to his honour by visiting the Queen of England, whatever the result of his journey might be.

To Walsingham, her Ambassador in Paris, who has reported that her conditions for marrying Alençon are without precedent at the French Court :

You are to answer that, considering the advancement that will grow by a marriage with me, this special case can have no former example answerable to rule it.

To Paulet, her Ambassador in Paris, about the proposed marriage with Alençon :

It has been explained to him [Alençon] that if they were treating with a princess who was ugly, or otherwise unsuited to him either through bodily deformity or other natural imperfection, or

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper.

lacking in mental gifts suitable to our place and quality, in that case a mode of procedure so strict and savouring of obstinacy, founded rather on motives of profit than on love or good will, might have been tolerated. But seeing the graces which God has bestowed on us, besides the honourable estate that we hold, for which we thank Him without end as His goodness is endless to us, not boasting of that which is of His grace and not of our desert, esteeming it a thing unbecoming to chant our own praises, if we deem ourselves worthy of a prince as great as Monsieur without agreeing to conditions so hard as we refused heretofore granted to other princes, and they took it in good part, it will not be imputed to us as a fault.

To Walsingham, then representing her in Paris :

I have conferred with the Lord Admiral and others who are in France, and I find the conditions and qualities of the said Duke [Alençon] nothing inferior to the Duke of Anjou, but rather better to be liked ; but as to his visage and favour, everybody declares the same to be far inferior, and that especially for the blemishes which the smallpox has wrought therein, so as the youngness of his years being considered [he was *æt.* 17 and Elizabeth 34] I can in no ways bring myself to like this offer, especially finding no other great commodity offered with him whereby the absurdity that in the general opinion of the world may grow may be in some manner recompensed.

To Walsingham, her Ambassador in Paris, concerning the marriage with Alençon :

The report I have of the blemishes by the smallpox is no small part of my misliking, which every person expresses to be so great as none dare give me any hope how to bear with that inconvenience, howsoever otherwise he be, both for his stature, shape of his body, and gifts of mind very well commended. My meaning is not that you shall in my name use this as part of my misliking, although you may, as of yourself in secret speech with the Queen Mother, use some speech thereof.

To Fénelon, referring to reports of her spies in France :

It has been said, in France, that Monsieur would do well to marry the old creature, who had had for the last year an ulcer in her leg, which was not yet healed, and never could be cured ; and, under that pretext, they could send me a potion from France of such a nature that he would find himself a widower in the course of five or six months, and after that he could please himself by marrying the Queen of Scotland and remain the undisputed sovereign of the united realms.¹

To her Council ; 1571 :

If any ill come to me, or my crown, or my subjects, from my not having espoused the Archduke Charles, it ought to be imputed to you, and not to me. You were the cause of giving umbrage to the King of Spain,

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iv. p. 85.

you embroiled me with the Scotch, and through your intrigues with the Rochellers, a war with the King of France would have ensued if I had not prevented it ; and I pray you all to assist me now to smooth all these evils in the only way you can, which is by forwarding my marriage with Monsieur [Alençon] ; and I shall hold every one as a bad subject, an enemy to this realm, and disloyal to my service, who in any way crosses me in it.¹

To Alençon, when he had begged after the massacre of St. Bartholomew to be allowed to come to throw himself at her feet :

My people do not like the business [of her proposed marriage with Alençon] in which you are engaged, and if you come to woo me with your sword stained with Protestant blood, you will be regarded by my subjects with horror ; neither I nor they can forget the massacre of St. Bartholomew which was perpetrated at a marriage festival.

To Fénelon, when he inquired by command of the Queen-Mother of France if Elizabeth would proceed with the negotiations for her marriage with Alençon, who was then in prison for treason :

I cannot be so ungrateful as to think ill of a prince who thinks so well of me, but I must tell you decisively that I will not take a husband with irons on his feet.

To Fénelon, who was assuring her that the disparity in ages between her and Alençon was not important :

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iii. p. 462.

It might be so for a little while, but in seven or eight years he would begin to despise and hate me, which would very quickly bring me to my grave.

*To Fénelon, with respect to the Alençon proposal ;
æt. 39 :*

My subjects have hitherto esteemed me as somewhat wise, as I have reigned over them in peace and prosperity fourteen years ; but if, after I have eschewed matrimony all my life, I should, now I am an old woman, take a husband so much too young, and especially with such a blemish in his face as that which has befallen Monsieur d'Alençon, they would despise me, and deem me very ill-advised, even if I could shew them a sufficient counterpoise to atone for these great defects.¹

To Stafford, her Ambassador in France, to whom she communicates her fear for her country should she wed Alençon and he accept the sovereignty of the Netherlands, which he was seeking :

I dare not assure Monsieur how this greater matter [their marriage] will end until I be assured what way he will take with the Low Countries ; for rather will I never meddle with marriage than have such a bad covenant added to my part.

To Alençon, advising him as to his conduct in the Netherlands :

I pray you to take in good part the weak-wittedness of a woman, who, if she were as wise as Solomon and

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. v.

as rich as Cræsus, you should not lack wise advice nor rich means to make you admired and feared, that is by your enemies, as God is my good witness.¹

To Stafford, her Ambassador in Paris, upon learning that the Netherlands, in order to bind her to their cause, had offered their sovereignty to Alençon, whom they expected her to marry, although he had not communicated to her their proposal of the crown :

Suppose now how this may make our people think well of him and of me to bring them to the possession of such neighbours? . . . In my name shew him how impertinent it is for this season [of their courtship] to bring to the ears of our people so untimely news. God forbid that the banns of our nuptial feast should be savoured with the sauce of our subjects' wealth!

To Alençon, who had been rejected as ruler of the Netherlands by the Dutch, and who was now asking to come to request her hand :

I assure you I am much displeased that that ingrateful multitude, a true mob, should so misuse such a prince, and I think that God, if not men, will be revengeful on them for it, and am glad that you have safely escaped their iniquitous hands. Nor do I doubt that having passed Scylla you will beware of entering Charybdis.

To Alençon :

Though I recognize my lack of wit to instruct you, you may accept it as from one who will never have a thought not dedicated to your honour, and will never

¹ *Cal. S.P. Foreign*, Nov. 22, 1583.

betray you by her advice, but will give it as if her soul depended thereon.

To Alençon :

I see that you feel a scruple about leaving her whom you had made so much your own altogether ignorant of all state of your affairs, for which reason you have sent me more than I expected. I thank you a thousand times, promising that you can impart it to no living creature who takes more interest in it than I, who am still in great wroth about the enterprise which preceded the means for accomplishing it.¹

To Fénelon, referring to the ulcer in her leg which did not heal for over nine years :

Notwithstanding the evil report that has been made of my leg, I did not fail to dance last Sunday at the marriage of the Marquis of Northampton, so I hope Monsieur [as she always called Alençon] will not find himself cheated into marrying a cripple instead of a woman of proper paces.²

To Fénelon, when he reported to her that the Queen-Mother of France, Catherine de' Medici, had written him word with respect to the English quack doctor who undertook to remove from Alençon's face all traces of the small-pox scars which so much disfigured it, that "The said doctor can easily practise upon a page, and, if he does well, he can use his remedies on my son" :

I am astonished, considering the great love that Catherine has always shown for her children, that she

¹ *Cal. S.P. Foreign*, Nov. 22, 1583.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iv. p. 21.

has not before this endeavoured to remove so great a disfigurement as the scars which mar the countenance of the Duke of Alençon.¹

To Fénelon, after her second attack of the smallpox—probably only the varioloid—referring to the fact that the Duke of Alençon's face was badly pitted with the more violent disease :

When the Duke comes to hear about my attack I suppose he will hope that it will leave just enough of it on my face so that we cannot reproach one another on this score.

To Alençon with reference to their marriage :

Although my royal rank causes me to doubt whether my kingdom is not more sought after than myself, yet I understand that you have found other graces in me. . . . As for my answer, I beg that you will not add a bad interpretation to so good a text.

To Alençon :

I assure you that the difficulties that have been moved in the matter concerning yourself are not risen by lack of good will in me, but only upon just reasons that are so inseparably knit to the office of my kingdom that I would not be thought worthy of the one if I regarded not the other.

To her Council, who reported to her that they were very much divided upon the subject of her marriage with Alençon :

As if it were doubtful whether there will be more

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. v.

surety for me and my realm if I am to marry and have a child of my own to inherit and so to continue the line of Henry VIII. !¹

To Alençon :

I now send two trifling gifts ; the one, that whilst wearing it on your neck, you may have cause every hour to think of me ; the other, to wear on the cap, in token of the Crown of this Kingdom, which I would myself most willingly place with my own hand on your head, were it in my power to do so, as I think you are sure and certain, and as your Ambassador, Mons. Simier, resident with us, if required, will give you ample proof.²

To Henry III. of France with reference to her proposed marriage to his brother, Alençon :

For my own part I firmly believe that my happiness will be only too great for an old woman to whom paternosters will suffice in place of nuptials. [Elizabeth was then—1580—forty-six years of age and Alençon twenty-four.]³

To the Archbishop of York :

My Lord, here I am between Scylla and Charybdis. Alençon has agreed to all the terms I sent him and is asking me to tell him when I wish him to come and marry me. If I do not marry him, I do not know whether he will remain friendly with me ; and if I

¹ Murdin.

² Translation ; Italian MS. at Venice. Cf. *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, vol. vii. No. 781, Oct. 12, 1579.

³ *Cal. S.P. For. Ser.*, May-July, 1580.

do, I shall not be able to govern the country with the freedom and security that I have hitherto enjoyed. What shall I do ?

To Walsingham, her Ambassador in Paris, giving instructions as to what he will say to the French King respecting his offer of the hand of his brother Alençon :

To the request for assignation of a day for the marriage, you shall declare that for divers considerations we cannot find it good either for Monsieur or for ourselves to assent to the marriage with him as the case standeth, whereby he, being already entered into an open war against the King of Spain, should by marriage bring us and our Realm also into a war which in no respect our Realm and subjects can accept with the marriage, but the same would prove very ingrateful to our people, and engender a misliking of us both, as you may well enlarge that point, the rather considering it is seen how hardly many have been brought to allow of the marriage without any war.

And therefore upon this point we nevertheless thus concluded, that though the marriage cannot be allowable with a war for those respects, yet considering how necessary it is for the Crown of France, as well as for ours, yea, for all Christendom, that the King of Spain's greatness should be impeached, and this account of Monsieur's should be prosecuted in the Low Countries, we shall be content (though we do not marry) to join with the French King to aid Monsieur with a reasonable portion, so as it may not be so overtly as thereby

to provoke a war upon us and our Realm ; and herewith you shall set forth the necessity of the continuance of Monsieurs actions now in hand, and if he will answer that he will lean to our marriage, you shall answer that there cannot be so much profit either to himself, or to the French King and his Realm, or to us and our Realm by the marriage, as by the continuance of this action to the abating of the Spanish King's greatness, which if it be not interrupted speedily will so encounter both France and England as neither the marriage nor any conjunction of the forces of France and England can hereafter stay or remedy. . . .

And thus leaving to your discretion how to persuade Monsieur that this not assenting to the marriage proceedeth not of lack of Love or Good-will towards him, but of mere necessity to avoid the just offence of our people, you shall use all good persuasions to temper his misliking thereof, with the assurance of the continuance of our love towards him in all his fortunes hereafter to follow. . . . And so our meaning is, that you shall if you can possible, in this sort put off the marriage with yielding to this latter open sort of aiding, if the secret aid shall not be allowed.

But now if . . . the King will yield to none of these but with the marriage, as hitherto by his former Answers have appeared . . . yet it shall prove a great error both in the French King and us to leave the King of Spain to increase to such greatness as hereafter neither the force of France nor England, no nor any that may be confederate with them, shall be able to

withstand any thing that the King of Spain shall attempt.

And if these Reasons cannot prevail, you shall leave off, declaring your great grief that the forbearing of the marriage, grounded upon the evident misliking of our subjects, should be the cause of the forbearing to do so great a good to Christendom, as the conjunction of the King and us might bring, though the matter took not place, and so you shall end and speedily advertise us of your proceedings.

To Alençon, reported by Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate :

I confess that my obligation towards you is great, as I have learned how great is the affection you bear me, which you have made all the more manifest by visiting my kingdom not once but twice, in so intimate and confiding a way. This has laid me under such obligations towards you that I have resolved to promise myself in marriage to you, as I have done and would do again, but I ought to say what is in my mind, and causes me much trouble : and that is my doubt that this resolve, which I took in order to give you the greatest sign of affection that I could, may end in your great damage by making the world at large hostile to you, for you are brother to the King of France, who is childless, and I am so advanced in years that you can hardly hope to have a child by me, and my doctors warn me that if I have a child I shall die in childbed, and that is out of the question. This apart I may live yet so many years that if after my

death you married again you might not be able to beget children. I am therefore afraid of bringing an injury upon you, your family and the Crown of France. I have thought it right to say all this, and I beg you to consider it well, whether you would not do better to marry some one by whom you could have children, being, however, absolutely sure of two things, one is that if you wish it I am always ready to keep my promise to you, the second is that if you should have any doubt lest, if the marriage did not take place, I should not support your designs with all my might, I assure you, and will convince you by all means in my power, that you may count on me and my kingdom as if you had been my husband.¹

To Alençon, on the morning after she had placed the ring on his finger, following a night of sleepless struggle to determine what course to pursue :

Two more such nights as the last will bring me to the grave.²

To Alençon :

Now the world will see whether I, as was pretended, have made you prisoner, or whether you have not rather made me a prisoner.³

To one of her highest officials :

I would not marry Alençon to be empress of the world.

¹ Translation from Italian MS. Cf. *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, vol. viii. p. 60, Dec. 14, 1581.

² Translation, *Mémoires de Nevers*, Daniel.

³ Translation from Italian MS., Venice ; Sept. 10, 1579. Cf. *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, vol. vii. No. 774.

To Alençon, when he had told her that rather than give her up he would see them both perish : her age was forty-eight :

You must not threaten a poor old woman in her own kingdom ; passion not reason speaks in you or I would think you mad. I beg you not to use such dreadful words.

Poem upon the departure of Alençon after her final refusal to wed him. This was in 1582 when Elizabeth was æt. 48, and he 26. He promised to return, but she never saw him again, and he died two years later :

I.

I grieve, yet dare not shew my discontent ;
 I love, and yet am forced to seem to hate ;
 I dote, but dare not what I ever meant ;
 I seem stark mute, yet inwardly doe prate ;
 I am, and am not—freeze, and yet I burn ;
 Since from myself my other self I turn.

II.

My care is like my shadow in the sun—
 Follows me flying—flies when I pursue it ;
 Stands and lives by me—does what I have done ;
 This too familiar care doth make me rue it.
 No means I find to rid him from my breast,
 Till by the end of things it be suppressed.

III.

Some gentler passion steal into my mind,
 (For I am soft, and made of melting snow ;)

Or be more cruel, love, or be more kind ;
 Or let me float or sink, be high or low ;
 Or let me live with some more sweet content ;
 Or die, and so forget what love e'er meant.

To Alençon, who has asked for further help to assist him in retaining the Netherlands :

My God ! Monsieur ! is this the way to keep your friends—to be always draining them ? Is the King, your brother, so weak that he cannot defend his own blood without the help of his neighbours ? . . . God save you from painted counsels, and enable you to follow those who respect you more than you respect yourself.¹

To her suite, referring to Alençon after he had left her for the last time :

I would give a million to have my frog swimming in the Thames instead of in the stagnant waters of the Netherlands.²

To the Spanish Ambassador, who excused his absence from Court by saying that he supposed she was too busy to see him while she was preparing for her marriage with Alençon, whom she had induced to retire from the Netherlands with his troops. In view of the foregoing Sayings relating to Alençon, the following remark is one of the most significant of all Elizabeth's career :

An old woman like me has something else to think about besides marrying ; the hopes I gave that I

¹ *Hatfield Papers*, part iii., Sept. 10, 1583. Cf. M. A. S. Hume, *The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 329, Pop. Ed.

² Translation ; *Cal. S.P. Simancas*, vol. iii. No. 221, March 1, 1582.

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would marry Alençon were given for the purpose of getting him out of the Netherland States ; I never wished to see them in the hands of the French.¹

¹ Translation ; Simancas MS. "Replicóme que por una vieja como ella era bueno tratar de casarse; que me aseguraba que las esperanzas que habia dado de poderse efectuár el suyo con M. de Alençon le habian hecho salir de los Estados; lo qual habia deseado por no verlos en manos de Franceses."—Decoded from a letter of Mendoza, 1578-9; MS. Simancas.

IX

RELIGION

To Somerset ; 1549, æt. 15 :

I know I have a soul to be saved as well as other folks have.

To an examiner who had been charged to test her conversion to the Catholic faith. This was during her imprisonment at Woodstock. She was asked as to the presence of the Saviour at the Lord's Supper, and gave this answer extempore :

Christ's was the word that spake it,
He took the bread and break it,
And what His word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

To her companions, when she was told she had become Queen. She was seated under the branches of a great oak still standing at Hatfield House. At the announcement, she fell upon her knees and spoke these words ; 1558, æt. 25 :

A Domino factum est illud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris ! [It is the doing of the Lord, it is marvellous in our eyes !]¹

To her company, upon entering the Tower as Queen for

¹ Cf. verse 23 of the 118th Psalm.

the first time since her imprisonment there as a prisoner four years before :

Some have fallen from being princes of this land to be prisoners in this place ; I am raised from being prisoner in this place to be prince of this land. *That* dejection was a work of God's justice ; *this* advancement is a work of His mercy ; as they were to yield patience for the one, so I must bear myself to God thankful, and to men merciful for the other.

To de Feria, Philip II.'s representative at her Court, who had asked her to be very careful about religious affairs :

It would indeed be bad for me to forget God, who has been so good to me.

To the Spanish Ambassador, 1560 :

I hope that our Lord, in whom I put my whole trust, who has held me up in worse perplexities and reverses, will sustain me in the future.

To Fénelon :

I believe that the fear of death and injustice have ranged a great number of King Henry's subjects on the defensive, and caused them to take his towns and villages for places of refuge, and pass then to the offensive, and pile trouble on trouble, and incite the strangers in his realm. I beg him to break as soon as he can the course of these religious troubles and take it in good part if I tell him frankly that the things unhappily done in the past to those of the new religion demand that he shall not refuse, nor find it dishonour-

able, nor against his reputation, to accord them now some honest security.¹

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador :

Many people think we are Turks or Moors here, whereas we only differ from other Catholics in things of small importance.

To Parliament ; 1585 :

I am supposed to have many studies, but most philosophical. I must yield this to be true—that I suppose few that be not professors have read more. And I need not tell you that I am so simple that I understand not, nor so forgetful that I remember not ; and yet amidst my many volumes I hope God's Book hath not been my seldomest lectures.²

To Parliament ; 1585 :

We must suppose that God would never have made us but for a better place and of more comfort than we find here.³

To Parliament ; 1585 :

I see many ever bold with God Almighty, making too many subtle scannings of the blessed will as lawyers do with human testaments. The presumption is so great as I may not suffer it nor tolerate new-fangleness. I mean to guide them both by God's holy, true rule.⁴

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. vi. p. 308, Dec. 3, 1574.

² D'Ewes, *Journal*, p. 328.

³ *Idem.*

⁴ *Idem.*

To one of her attendants, reported by Fénelon :

There is one thing higher than Royalty : and that is religion, which causes us to leave the world, and seek God.¹

To the French Ambassador :

The King of France and I both know very well what religion the other holds, and I believe firmly that though they differ in certain words, they are not contrary in substance : so that as I hold him for a Christian prince, who will not break his faith nor his word, so he will find me a Christian princess who will hold to everything I have promised and vowed.²

To Fénelon and M. de Chasteauneuf, the Duc d'Alençon having asked that he might enter on his first campaign (in the religious war then devastating France) "under the favour of her name" :

I confess I am greatly obliged to him, and he deserves to carry some better and worthier favour than mine on his first campaign ; but, all the same, I should be sorry to give it to him in this one, and wish with all my heart that Monsieur his brother and he would employ all the valour which they have in other enterprises which are against their enemies, and not against the subjects of the crown to which they also owe allegiance.³

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. vi. p. 160, June 27, 1574.

² *Idem*, vol. v. p. 232, 1573.

³ *Idem*, vol. v. p. 285, March 9, 1573.

To Fénelon :

I think that, at the worst, God has not yet ordained that England shall perish ; or, at least, I do not believe that she has yet been put in the power of those amongst men who, possibly, would willingly undertake to destroy her.¹

Latin prayer composed by Elizabeth and written in her own hand in the little Prayer Book which she seems always to have carried to her devotions after the first meeting between her and Alençon in 1579. This book, entirely in her hand, and of original text, was only three inches high by two inches wide, of sixty-five vellum pages. It was bound in shagreen, with gold enamelled clasps, each with a ruby in the centre. There were two prayers in English, and one each in Italian, French, Greek and Latin, translations from which follow. This priceless volume has disappeared only within the last thirty years ; but forty autotype copies were fortunately made by the last known owner, the great collector of miniatures, J. Whitehead, Esq. Of these, the British Museum possesses one ; Dr. Williamson, who follows Mr. Whitehead as the greatest authority on miniatures, one ; Miss Whitehead one ; and the compiler of this volume has the only other copy which can be traced.

I have no hesitation in saying that these prayers are the most valuable documents in the whole personal history of the Queen, for, except when, as Leycester wrote Walsingham, " she used very pitttyfull words to me of her fear she shall not lyve, & wold not have me from hir " and similar disclosures in the same compilation,² we are without any other record of the HELPLESS, DEPENDENT, CLINGING side of Elizabeth ; and everybody

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. v. p. 232, Feb. 2, 1573.

² *Vide* Item No. 131, etc., of the Medical Record of Elizabeth in *The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth*.

of mature years knows that EVERY man has this side. It is this lack that heretofore has elevated Elizabeth into a traditional, instead of into a real, person. Washington was similarly handicapped for nearly a century, when the first gleaming facts burst through and gave us his weaknesses. This weaker side of the Queen she NEVER showed except to that closest of all her friends, Leycester, and to God ; and it is only now at the end of all these years that we have these documents for general perusal. Here at last is the Real Elizabeth, stripped of all majesty, all the trappings of her position as the representative of a nation, devoid of all pride and vanity, bowing to the only being to whom she would ever bow. And it is only after three centuries that we can see HOW abjectly and completely she relied upon God. Even THAT she thought she should keep from her people, who must believe that she was NEVER afraid, NEVER at a loss, NEVER worried, NEVER doubtful of the course she should steer for their welfare. No person ever saw the words of this little prayer book except the one who bound them into it until Elizabeth's death, and hardly a word of them—if any at all—has crept into ANY book until this page came from the binders. Elizabeth's religion is all in these prayers :

Lord God, Eternal Father, to whom belong power, sovereignty and glory, who art above all, through all and in all, through whom kings reign and princes rule on the earth, who hast subjected all things to the sovereignty and power of man that man may subject himself wholly beneath the power of thy word and will : Give to me, the Queen, thy counsels, that I may judge thy people in justice and thy poor in understanding. The frail body weighs down the spirit, and its earthly dwelling oppresses the mind

as it ponders many things ; nor, amongst the sons of men does any know thy counsel, or understand thy mind unless thou hast first given wisdom and breathed upon him with thy divine spirit. Give to me, thy handmaid, a docile heart, that I may know what is acceptable before thee ; send from heaven the spirit of thy wisdom, and by thy guidance rule my heart. Oh, happy he whom thou, Lord, dost instruct and make learned in thy will, without which I am able neither to do well for myself, nor for others, nor to obey thee according to my duty, nor to rule the people with equity. Wherefore, most powerful King and most merciful Father, I come a suppliant to the throne of thy grace, I bend my knees before the footstool of thy feet, I lift my hands, I fix my eyes, I pour forth words, I beat my breast, I prostrate body and soul, seeking from my heart, as humbly as I can, that thy spirit may teach me and train me in all thy ways. . . . Impart, O Lord, thy holy spirit, that it be ever and everywhere present with me, that it guide, direct and impel me to meditate, to impose, to determine and decree, those things only which belong to the praise of thy name, the interest of the church, and the advantage of the state. May I so rule others with my sceptre that I govern myself by thy word ; in guiding the state, may the soul so dominate the flesh, reason dominate the soul, faith dominate reason, thy grace dominate faith, that nothing may please me which is displeasing to thee, nothing be wise to me which is not in accord with thy word.

The Greek prayer composed by Elizabeth and written in her own hand in the Prayer Book just described :

When I survey the evils of this world, in which we thy servants live, and behold the doings of the wicked, the hate of enemies, the dangers and crafty machinations of the impious, and by which we are continually endangered, yet even more when I remember my own life, how many errors and faults have beset me from my youth, I am afraid, I am ashamed and full of despondency. But as soon as I reflect again on thy mighty hand, the greatness and the continuity of thy assistance to me, I resume again my power of reasoning and become more elevated in my hopes. For this reason, coming to thee now with humble heart, I thank thee . . . for all the blessings which thou hast granted to me, thou who, having preserved me from such great dangers and exalted me to the royal throne of this kingdom, hast not ceased to guard me upon it. . . . I know my transgressions, and the deeds I have wrought ; but this, also, I know—that the greatness of my sins does not exceed the manifold long-suffering of my saviour. For thou didst not drive from thee the sinful woman who approached thee with tears, nor didst thou reject the publican who repented, nor banish the thief who acknowledged thy kingdom, nor didst thou abandon the persecutor who repented, but these all upon their repentance thou didst change into the place of thy friends. Wherefore, confiding in thy unspeakable goodness, I approach and pray thee, Christ, my lord, my master, my deliverer, King of the

universe : Remit, forgive, be gracious and pardon me, a sinner and thy unworthy servant, all my sins from my youth, whether [committed] in knowledge or in ignorance, in words or in deeds, against thee ; sanctify me in soul and in body, in mind and in heart, and renew me wholly. And be to me a helper and protector, ruling in peace my life and my people, thou who alone art blessed everywhere now and for endless ages. AMEN.¹

Italian prayer in the same work :

In truth and sincerity I recognize and confess that from Thee, sole and Supreme Ruler and most merciful Father, I have received the crown and sceptre, and now therefore, as humbly as I can, I present myself before the sacred throne of thy most high Majesty, in whose presence above in the Heavens I, here on earth, on bended knee, pour out my humble and repentant heart before Thee, pierced with deep sorrow for my many sins and errors, which, I confess, render me unworthy of eternal life, if not of the royal dignity. But, because I feel and recognize that I am in reality possessed with the certain knowledge of thy beloved Son and of Thee, fountain of life, I take courage, confiding in His merits alone, to consecrate my sceptre unto Thee and to beseech Thee as my most benign Father not to enter judgment against me. Alas ! who could ever abide in Thy presence if his sins were not freely pardoned and all the righteousness and justice

¹ My translation.—F. C.

of thy Christ imputed to him ? Deign, therefore, to open the ample treasures of Thy mercy, that I may be freed from so much misery, and to discover unto me likewise the living waters in which I may be purged and made clean from all my stains of sin, by virtue of the clear, pure waters of Thy holy fountains ; and that, thus made clean, I may be at last received into Thy eternal pavilion, and, dwelling there with Thee forever, O my sweet Saviour ! together with the holy kings, may contemplate Thy countenance serene, in the blissful and happy enjoyment of life everlasting. And while Thou art pleased to leave me living on earth, I beseech Thee to keep me under the shadow of the wings of Thy divine power, even as Thou hast with thy mighty hand, from my youth upward, shielded me from a thousand mortal perils, guided me ever with Thy Holy Spirit ; for so it is that he alone is secure and safe who dwells in the secret of the Most High, and rests in the shadow of the Omnipotent, and hath holy truth for his shield. For Thou art the Most High and Omnipotent God, and in Thee only have I put my trust. Grant, O Lord, that I may not be confounded, for being but weak and subject to human ignorance in this my calling, I feel that I have need of good advice and wise counsel, and swift succour at all times, especially when I am assailed by the impetuous winds and fierce tempests to which Christian monarchs are wont to be subjected, having for foe the world which is exposed to that savage and roaring lion which ever goeth about in search of prey. And though

I still enjoy the peace which Thou hast given me as my most merciful Father, yet, none the less, I am overwhelmed by grave and mortal perils, having many enemies who are the adversaries of Thy truth which I have received in this my kingdom. But do Thou, my Supreme Shepherd, defend me. Thou art the most mighty God of armies, and Thou alone canst defend me and counsel me in every difficulty, being all-wise. Thou doest what Thou wilt in Heaven and on earth, and Thy counsels are firmly established, making vain the words of men. Therefore, Lord, make me to feel more than ever Thy grace and divine favour, that awaiting the day of my departure, serving Thee and glorifying Thy holy name, I may at last receive the incorruptible crown. . . . AMEN.¹

Her English prayer in the little book :

O most Glorious King and Creator of the whole world, to whom all things be subject, both in heaven and earth, and all best Princes most gladly obey : Hear the most humble voice of thy handmaiden. . . . How exceeding is thy goodness, and how great mine offences ! Of nothing hast thou made me, not a worm, but a Creature according to thine own image, heaping all the blessings upon me that men on earth hold most happy, Drawing my blood from Kings and my bringing up in virtue, giving me that [which] more is, even in my youth, knowledge of thy truth, and, in times of most danger, most gracious deliverance ;

¹ My translation.—F. C.

pulling me from the prison to the palace and placing me a Sovereign Princess over thy people of England. And above all this, making me (though a weak woman) yet thy instrument, to set forth the glorious Gospel of thy dear Son Christ Jesus. THUS in these last and worst days of the world, when wars and seditions with grievous persecutions have vexed almost all Kings and Countries round about me, my reign hath been peaceable, and my Realm a receptacle to the afflicted church. The love of my people hath appeared firm, and the devices of mine enemies frustrate. Now for these and other thy benefits (O Lord of all goodness) what have I rendered to thee? Forgetfulness, unthankfulness and great disobedience. I should have magnified thee. I have neglected thee. I should have prayed unto thee. I have forgotten thee. I should have served thee. I have sinned against thee. THIS is my case. Then where is my hope? If thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, who may abide it? But thou art gracious and merciful, long suffering and of great goodness, not delighting in the death of a Sinner. Thou seest whereof I came, of corrupt seed, what I am, a most frail substance: where I live, in the world full of wickedness: where delights be snares, where dangers be imminent, where sin reigneth, and death abideth. THIS is my state. Now where is my comfort? In the depth of my misery I know no help (O Lord) but the height of thy mercy, who hath sent thine only Son into the world to save sinners. This, God of my life, and life of my soul,

the King of all comfort, is my only refuge. For his sake, therefore, to whom thou hast given all power, and will deny no petition, hear my prayers. Turn thy face from my sins (O Lord) and thine eyes to thy handiwork. Create a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within me. Order my steps in thy word, that no wickedness have dominion over me, make me obedient to thy will and [to] delight in thy law. Grant me grace to live godly and to govern justly : that so living to please thee, and reigning to serve thee, I may ever glorify thee the Father of all goodness and mercy. . . . AMEN.

From the French prayer in the Prayer Book :

Thou hast raised and exalted me to the throne through thy Providence, and hast crowned me with peace to govern my people and to rear thy Church. I thank thee, my good God, for the honour thou hast given me, and I beseech thee to enable me to do my duty in governing my states and to administer justice faithfully without exceptions for friends or individuals. . . . May thou continue to use me, rendering me willing to announce thy reign, and as I know for certain that I have not entirely fulfilled my duties and have not adequately valued the gifts you have made me . . . I confess without hypocrisy that I do not deserve to be honoured and served, but forever should be abandoned and covered with disgrace. Nevertheless thou knowest that I am sorry and grieved that I have human infirmities. Alas, my God, do not judge me according

to my deeds, for they are polluted, but recollecting thy fatherly mercy I confess and own as true that I have offended thee in many ways. Have thou pity for me, and forgive me according to thy promises, for thou art my Father and knowest my transgressions and my sins, black and bloody, are constantly before me to terrify me. . . . Govern me and defend me and my people against all my enemies who are enemies of truth and exalt themselves against thy Christ, plotting always treason as work of iniquity. Preserve then the mother and the children who have been given to her, for thus we may better serve thee and thy [? devoted] Church. . . . Give good advice and instruction to my councils and faithfulness to my servants ; and to me anxiety, love, trust and discretion to receive the counsel of my faithful servants ; and for that give us abundantly the grace of thy spirit, so that, O my king, we may remain in thy bosom and be led by thee without fear of our enemies. . . .¹

The book closes with this English prayer :

O Lorde God Father everlasting, which reigneth over the Kingdoms of men and giveth them at thy pleasure : which of thy great mercy, hast chosen me thy servant and handmaid to feed thy people and thine inheritance : so teach me, I humbly beseech Thee, thy word, and so strengthen me with thy grace that I may feed thy people with a faithful and a true heart : and rule them prudently with power. Oh

¹ My translation.—F. C.

Lord, thou hast set me on high, my flesh is frail and weak. If I therefore at any time forget thee, touch my heart, o Lord, that I may again remember thee. If I swell against thee, pluck me down in my own conceit. . . . I acknowledge, oh my King, without thee my throne is unstable, my seat unsure, my Kingdom tottering, my life uncertain. I see all things in this life subject to mutability, nothing to continue still at one stay. . . . Create therefore in me, o Lord, a new heart, and so renew my spirit within me that thy law may be my study, thy truth my delight ; thy church my care ; thy people my crown ; thy righteousness my pleasure ; thy service my government. . . . So shall this my kingdom through thee be established with peace ; so shall thy church be edified with power ; . . . so shall my reign be continued with prosperity, so shall my life be prolonged with happiness ; and so shall my self at thy good pleasure be translated into immortality. Which, o merciful Father, grant for the merit of thy Son.

To the French Ambassador, referring to the failure of many assassins to kill her :

I am in the keeping of God.

To Sir William Brown, deputy-governor of Flushing, upon his telling her that the Zeelanders, in their fight against Spain, put their faith in her and prayed for her :

Yea, Brown, I know it well enough ; and I will tell thee one thing. Faith, here is a church of that countrymen in London ; I protest, next after the divine

providence that governs all my well-doing, I attribute much of the happiness that befalls me to be given of God by those men's effectual and zealous prayers, who, I know, pray for me with that fervency as none of my servants can do more.¹

To Fénelon, the French Ambassador, who had explained to Elizabeth that the French Government had forbidden the Huguenots to practise their religion because they had abused their liberty when they had it : "having in this followed your example, who, at your succession, authorised only in your country the practice of your own religion, not even fearing to forbid theirs entirely to the Catholics, though they were in a majority in the country, and filled the highest positions." She replied :

That since, from the beginning, being moved only by zeal for the honour of God, and my own conscience, I established without opposition my own religion in the country, under which my subjects have since lived in great peace, without feeling any of the tempests which were raging all around them, one could not, in my opinion, compare my example with what their Majesties are at present doing, for it has never happened that I have had to change my policy, either in religion or anything else, while it seems that, to please other princes, their Majesties have not made any difficulty about changing theirs. [Then, lowering her voice, she continued :] I have no doubt that the late kings their Majesties' predecessors and my own and the other princes and potentates who have up

¹ *Sidney Papers.*

to now ruled Christendom, had known, just as well as those who are reigning now, that the church and religion were in need of reform, in their time : but had not wished to touch them, foreseeing that, when reform came, it would bring with it the troubles which we see, and that, if my advice is worthy of being received by their Majesties, I would, from the beginning, have advised that, as the same God is invoked in both religions, their Majesties should never have authorised more than one ; but that since they had at the instance and for the benefit of a great number of their subjects authorised the two, I am of opinion that, according to the saying of the ancients, though doubtless their law was a little hard, their Majesties should have tried it for a longer time, and not broken the arrangement to please some, without having first looked after the interests of the others, even when arms had been already taken up, which seem, as far as that goes, to be raised now against all those who make profession of the same religion.¹

To Fénelon, of the religious wars in France :

As for the siege of La Rochelle and the other warlike exploits in France, I deplore them extremely, seeing that the clemency of a Prince towards his subjects, and the obedience of subjects to their Prince, and the social amity among those same subjects are converted into very different sentiments of fury, disobedience, and a very violent enmity, of which no one under the

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper.

sun more desires to see a good and speedy remedy than I do.¹

Upon realizing that Lopez had intended to assassinate her :

O Lord, Thou art my God ; my times are in Thy hand.

Prayer written by Elizabeth between the sailing from Spain of the Armada and its arrival off the Lizard, to be read twice a week in all the churches of England :

We do instantly beseech Thee, of Thy gracious goodness, to be merciful to the Church militant here upon earth, and at this time compassed about with most strong and subtle adversaries. O let Thine enemies know that Thou hast received England, which they most of all for Thy gospel's sake do malign, into Thine own protection. Set a wall about it, O Lord, and evermore mightily defend it. Let it be a comfort to the afflicted, a help to the oppressed, and a defence to Thy Church and people, persecuted abroad. And, forasmuch as this cause is new in hand, direct and go before our armies both by sea and land. Bless them, and prosper them : and grant unto them Thy honourable success and victory. Thou art our help and shield : O give good and prosperous success to all those that fight this battle against the enemies of Thy gospel.

To the French Ambassador, who had complimented her statecraft ; æt. 64 :

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. v. p. 330 ; also cf. p. 339, June 3, 1573.

It came from the goodness of God, upon whom I have depended more than upon anyone in the world.

To the Catholic Archbishop of York, who enjoined on her to follow the example of her Catholic sister and dread the curse of Rome should she fail to do so :

I will answer you in the words of Joshua. As Joshua said of himself and his—I and my realm will serve the Lord. My sister could not bind the realm, nor bind those who should come after her to submit to a usurped authority. I take those who maintain here the Bishop of Rome and his ambitious pretences to be enemies to God and to me.

Prayer still extant in Elizabeth's own hand, written at the time Spain was thought to be preparing a second Armada ; 1597, æt. 64 :

O god all-maker, keeper, and guider : Inurement of thy rare-seene, unused and seeld-heard-of goodness, powred in so plentiful sort upon us full oft, breeds now this boldnes to crave with bowed knees and heartes of humilitye, thy large hande of helping power, to assist with wonder oure just cause, not founded on Prides-motion, nor begun on Malice-stock ; But as thou best knowest, to whome nought is hid, grounded on just defence from wronges, hate, and bloody desire of conquest. . . .

To ———, 1601, when Essex began a rebellion against her ; æt. 67 :

He who placed me in this seat will keep me here.

X

CHURCH

To the French Ambassador :

If there were two princes in Christendom who had good will and courage, it would be very easy to reconcile the religious difficulties ; there is only one Jesus Christ and one faith, and all the rest is a dispute over trifles.

To somebody unknown : reported by the Duchess de Feria :

I pray God that the earth may open and swallow me alive, if I be not a true Roman Catholic.¹

To de Feria, representative of Philip II. in London :

I do not intend to be called Head of the Church, but I shall not let my subjects' money be carried out of the realm to the pope any more ; the bishops are a set of lazy scamps.

To the French Ambassador :

I have never permitted evil to happen to any Catholic for his faith, but only if he were plotting against my state.

To an attendant on the subject of ecclesiastics :

Two or three are enough for a whole county.

¹ MS. Life of the Duchess de Feria, p. 156. Cf. Lingard ; and Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 116.

To Cobham, whom she was sending to Spain to treat of the imprisonment of her sailors :

Be guided rather by such as are of noble birth and temporal vocation, than by such as have their oaths to the Church of Rome, and prefer the particular affairs of the pope before the service of the king.

To the Spanish Ambassador :

My bishops are a set of knaves, and I will not have the Catholics ill-used.¹

To the Duke Casimir, of the Palatinate :

Having heard by your letter . . . of the designs on foot then by means of a Diet to pronounce against all of the religion who do not hold the Augustan Confession—an unreasonable and mischievous thing in our opinion to make everyone subscribe to the same doctrine in matters indifferent . . . we decided . . . to send persons of quality to the Diet, to do the best they can to hinder such designs.²

To the French Ambassador, when he had said that Europe would never be quiet so long as there were religious differences :

As to trying to unite the churches, God knows I have time and again sent to the Emperor to ask it ; he will have no opposition from me. I even said to Cardinal Chastillon that whatever they think in his religion about the abomination of mass-going, I myself

¹ “ *Diciendo por su misma boca que eran unos bellacos* ” : Mendoza to Philip II., March 23, 1580. Simancas original.

² *Cal. S.P. For. Ser.*, June, 1578.

would much sooner hear a thousand masses than have caused the least of the million villainies committed in these troubles.¹

To de Feria, Spanish representative in London :

Religion is a matter of conscience in which in life and death I mean to be constant.

To the Three Estates of Scotland, when they were urging her to aid them further to maintain their position :

God will give assistance of his Grace as long as the Gospel shall be taught through both these realms, from which I hope that none of you will be led by any false persuasions to swerve. As I did not withdraw my aid from you in your necessities, so mean I not to diminish it at any time to come.

To the French Ambassador, to whom she was suggesting a conference which she promised to attend to settle the disputes of religion :

These religious differences are not so great as supposed, and may be adjusted. It is my opinion, that two Christian sovereigns, acting in unison, can settle everything on a better principle, without heeding either priests or ministers.²

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. ii. p. 398, Dec. 17, 1569 : "Et quant à chercher l'union de l'Eglise, Dieu sçavoit qu'elle avoit souvent envoyé devers l'Empereur pour l'en solliciter, et qu'elle ne s'y randroit jamais opiniastre ; mesmes avoit dict à M. le Cardinal Chatillon que quoique on tint en leur religion pour une grande abomination d'aller à la Messe, qu'elle aymeroit mieulx en avoir ouy mille que d'avoir esté cause de la moindre méchanceté d'ung million qui s'estoient commises par ces troubles."—Fénelon au Roy.

² Translation ; Dispatch of l'Aubespine de Chasteauneuf.

To Fénelon :

I only want the King of France to authorize the exercise of the Protestant religion in such a moderate way that it can neither injure nor offend his other subjects who are Catholics.¹

To the Duke of Würtemberg, asking his aid in a coming theological conference :

We exhort Your Excellency not to join yourself with the restless wits of those who want to move and disturb everything as they list rather than with those who cherish the concord of all the churches . . . as we have heard that certain factious persons are using every effort to start a controversy about the Lord's Supper . . . we pray you to do your best to hinder the discussion, or get it put off, lest the spark should burst forth into a flame, whereby the Church of Christ may be set on fire.

To the Duke of Anjou after his letter announcing his defeat of the Protestants at Jarnac and the murder by treachery of the Prince of Condé who had surrendered his sword after defeat :

I have received your letter with a writing declaring your victory and the death of the Prince of Condé, for the which it seems it is looked for that I should rejoice. I thank you for your good remembrance in writing to me in a time incumbered with so many matters, and I so far rejoice as I may hereafter see that, by this

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. v. p. 359.

effusion of so much Christian blood, the King may recover a perfect obedience of his subjects as well in minds as in bodies ; otherwise I think the victory so only in name.

To some person now unknown, in criticism of the many wives and children of the clergy who were in the colleges and cathedrals :

It is contrary to the intention of the founders, and much tending to the interruption of the studies of those who are placed there.¹

To the wife of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had just entertained Elizabeth at great expense and trouble ; this speech was Elizabeth's farewell and thanks for all that had been done for her. She was always opposed to a married clergy :

And you : madam I may not call you ; mistress I am ashamed to call you ; and so I know not what to call you ; but, howsoever, I thank you.²

To the Duke of Anjou, referring to the wars of religion then devastating France :

I fear that in these lamentable inward wars more earnestness is bestowed to nourish civil hatred than in pacification of the troubles.

To the Count Palatine, on the Augustan Confession :

Robert Beale . . . reported that you were vehemently opposed to the censures passed upon churches holding opinions of the Lord's Supper different from

¹ Strype, *Life of Parker*, p. 106.

² Strype, 1561.

those set forth by Luther. We think you quite right, and that you hold the view which appears most adapted to form the concord of all the churches. . . . We beseech you to intervene with all your authority, lest by the heedlong counsels of a few an occasion be afforded for a great schism in the Church of God. You can see what a pleasant spectacle we should display to the Papists if food for dissension is furnished by the wile of Satan, and they see us fighting among ourselves.¹

To the Duke of Anjou, speaking of the religious wars in France :

I cannot but utter my grief that the King's affairs are not otherwise conducted but that he is forced to hazard his own brother to employ his first age in such dangerous and doubtful attempts as wheresoever the victory inclines the ruin and waste must be of the blood of his own country.

To Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, when he urged her too strongly to dismiss some Catholics from the Council merely for their religion ; 1558, æt. 25 :

God's death, villain, I will have thy head !

To Frederick II. of Denmark ; 1584, æt. 50 :

I have hitherto been too lenient in the treatment of those ravening wolves, the Jesuits, who are sent everywhere by the Roman Pontiff to continue plots against the lives of religious princes, and by whom great disturbances have been excited in Ireland.

¹ *Cal. S.P. For. Ser.*, May 21, 1578.

To the Deprived Bishops, who had petitioned to be allowed to argue their case :

As for our father being withdrawn from the supremacy of Rome by schismatical and heretical counsels and advisers : Who, we pray, advised him more, or flattered him, than you, good Mr. Hethe, when you were Bishop of Rochester ? And than you, Mr. Bonner, when you were archdeacon ? And you, Mr. Turberville ? Nay, further, who was more an adviser of our father than your great Stephen Gardiner when he lived ? Are not ye, then, those schismatics and heretics ? ¹

To Sussex, to say to the Archduke of Austria, her suitor, on the difference of their religions :

God has so far prospered me by keeping England in peace, while Scotland, France and Flanders are torn by war ; and I mind still to please Him by continuing my whole realm in one manner of religion.

To Fénelon :

I warn you that if I should hear of any plots against the religion to which I belong, I have already declared myself a defender of that faith, and I shall oppose by all the means that God has given me the danger which I and my subjects may incur.²

To the Deprived Bishops :

You hit us and our subjects in the teeth that the

¹ Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Dec. 6, 1559.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. i. p. 61, 1568.

Romish Church first planted the Catholic faith within our realms ; the records and chronicles of our realms testify the contrary ; and your own Romish idolatry maketh you liars ; witness the ancient monument of Gildas unto which both foreign and domestic have gone in pilgrimage there to offer. This author testifieth Joseph of Arimathaea to be the first preacher of God within our realms. Long after that, when Augustine came from Rome, this our realm had bishops and priests therein, as is well known to the wise and learned of our realm by woeful experience, how your church entered therein by blood—they being martyrs for Christ, and put to death, because they denied Rome's usurped authority.¹

To Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador :

I have never castigated the Catholics except when they would not acknowledge me as their queen ; in spiritual matters I believe as they do.

To de Foix, the French Ambassador, who urged her not to insist upon Anjou recanting his Catholic religion if he were to marry her :

I was myself crowned according to the ceremonies of the Catholic Church and by Catholic bishops without, however, assisting at mass, and I should be sorry if I thought Monsieur was willing to give up his religion, for if he had the heart to forsake God, he might also forsake me.²

¹ Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Dec. 6, 1559.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iv. pp. 65, 66.

To the Deprived Bishops, who had sent a letter of protest for their deprivation :

Was it our sister's conscience made her so averse to our father's and brother's actions as to undo what they had perfected ? Or was it not you, or such like adversaries, that dissuaded her, and stirred her up against us and other of our subjects ? And whereas you would frighten us, by telling how Emperors, Kings and Princes have owned the Bishop of Rome's authority, it was contrary in the beginning. For our Saviour Christ paid his tribute unto Caesar, as the chief superior ; which shows your Romish supremacy is usurped.¹

To the French Ambassador :

I wish one could see my heart as if it were a picture that could be sent to Rome so that all could see what it was like.

To the French Ambassador :

Pope Sixtus said to two of my gentlemen who were in Rome that were it not that I were a heretic, I would be the most perfect and accomplished princess in the world ; but for that he would honour and serve me very willingly, for I was more worthy to be served than all other princes of Christendom.

To the Deprived Bishops :

Our realm and subjects have been long wanderers, walking astray, while they were under the tuition of

¹ Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Dec. 6, 1559.

Romish pastors (in lieu of a careful Shepherd) whose inventions, heresies, and schisms be so numerous that the flock of Christ hath fed on poisonous shrubs for want of wholesome pastures.¹

To the Archbishop of Canterbury :

It breedeth no small offence and scandal to see and consider upon the one part the curiosity and cost bestowed by all sorts of men upon their private houses ; and on the other part the unclean and negligent order and spare keeping of the houses of prayer by permitting open decays and ruins of coverings of walls and windows, and by appointing unmeet and unseemly tables with foul cloths for the communion of the sacrament.

To Fénelon :

Since the Protestants are beginning to hold discussions among themselves to decide whether there is any lawful reason for which one can, with the approval of God and one's conscience, withdraw oneself from obedience to one's Prince, and deprive him of his state, while the Pope, on his side, declares the states of those that he holds for schismatics or heretics all forfeited and alienated, I feel that all the crowns in Christendom are very precarious : and, for my part, I shall never show myself obstinate in refusing to join with the other Christian Princes when God puts it into their hearts to ensure all together the reunion of his Church.²

¹ Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Dec. 6, 1559.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iii. p. 4, Jan. 4, 1570.

To some person unidentified ; reported to the Doge and Senate of Venice by Priuli, their Ambassador in France :

My one desire is the union of the faithful, and if the Emperor and other princes wish to summon a Council which shall be universal and free, I will give my adherance. I know the Calvinists to be criminals, whose desire it is to destroy allegiance to princes.¹

¹ Translation from the Italian. Cf. *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, vol. viii. p. 14, July 14, 1581: "*Confessando che sono conosciuti da lei per homeni deliciosi et che attendono a levar la obbedientia a principi.*"

XI

MAXIMS OF LIFE

Elizabeth's favourite motto :

Video et taceo. [I see and am silent.]

To Leycester, when he was urging her to send troops to Scotland to maintain order :

I 'll stick at nothing !

To the Swedish Ambassador ; 1561, æt. 27 :

I, a virgin, can make my frank boast that I communicate to no mortal man my secret counsels except to such as I have chosen on account of their taciturnity ; then, if these secrets are later discovered, I know whom to accuse.

Inscription in a Psalter given to some person now unknown :

No crooked legge, no blered eye, no part deformed
out of kinde,

Nor yet so ouglye halfe can be as is the inward
suspicious minde.

To Parliament :

They that fear the hoary frost, the snow shall fall
upon them.¹

¹ D'Ewes, *Journal*.

To some person not known :

I mynde to perceave *in meliorem*, if I must be beguiled.

To the King of Sweden ; 1561 :

Do not tell secrets to those whose faith and silence you have not already tested.

To Buckhurst, in the Netherlands :

There is small disproportion betwixt a fool who useth not wit because he hath it not and him that useth it not when it should avail him.

To the Spanish Ambassador, who was protesting against her arrest of Catholics :

Those who appear the most sanctified are the worst.

To Sir Henry Sidney, her Governor of Ireland :

Let the good service of well-deservers be never rewarded with loss. Let their thanks be such as may encourage more strivers for the like.¹

To the Spanish Ambassador :

A clear and innocent conscience fears nothing.

To Fénelon :

It is said that we women always have excuses and evasions all ready.²

¹ Letter to Sidney, *Sidney Papers* ; also Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 218.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iii. p. 236.

To the Spanish Ambassador :

The past cannot be cured.

To some unknown person :

One man with a head on his shoulders is worth a dozen without.

To the French Ambassador, referring to the attempts upon her life :

It is very strange that the king of Spain should make use of such measures, which I would never have believed or thought possible to come from the will of a prince ; but there have been fifteen persons who have been sent for this purpose, all of whom have confessed.

To the same, speaking of the same subject :

I would rather die a thousand deaths than to behave so toward him [Philip II.] ; and if any of my subjects or counsellors had endeavoured or counselled me to do a similar act, I would immediately have put him to death.

To the French Ambassador :

I might well be obliged to have some knowledge of the affairs of the world, having been called so young and having governed this kingdom for forty years.

To Sir Henry Sidney, her Governor in Ireland :

Prometheus let me be ; and Prometheus hath been mine too long.¹

¹ Letter, *Sidney Papers* ; Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 218.

To the same :

If our web be framed with rotten handles, when our loom is well nigh done, our work is new to begin. God send the weaver true prentices again, and let them be denizens.¹

To the French Ambassador :

Though the sex to which I belong is considered weak [*leger*] you will nevertheless find me a rock that bends to no wind.²

To de Noailles, the French Ambassador :

It is the custom of evil mouths to say the worse, rather than the better.

To the same ; æt. 26 :

I do not say all that I think ; at least I never say anything I do not think ; and I ought to be believed, for I want everybody to understand that my heart is not so pusillanimous that for fear of his Majesty, and of his great forces, I shall ever say anything against my intention and thought.

To the same :

I know well that my kingdom is small ; it is all the easier to defend.

To the same :

Although I am a woman, nevertheless I am the

¹ Letter, *Sidney Papers* ; Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 218.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. i. p. 5.

daughter of predecessors who knew how to deserve this kingdom.

To the French Ambassador :

There is no marvel in a woman learning to speak, but there would be in teaching her to hold her tongue.

To de Vualfrind, on the subject of the marriage of Philip II. of Spain with his niece :

The King of Spain, as a great prince, possibly considers that his example may be a law to the world, but it is a law against Heaven.

To the French prince Alençon :

No good can come of evil.

To Admiral Seymour, her first suitor ; æt. 14 :

I am a friend not won with trifles, nor lost with the like.

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor in Ireland :

Make some difference between tried, just, and false friends.¹

To Catherine de' Medici :

I shall be the author of nothing that I cannot defend.

To Alençon, commanding in the Netherlands, warning him of the consequences of posing as saviour of that country when he had insufficient forces for the task :

That would be shipwreck of your reputation, which

¹ Letter, *Sidney Papers* ; Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 218.

would result in eternal infamy to you, if you shall take any bait which your enemy's hook offers you.

To Catherine de' Medici :

They say that a woman can keep a secret that is not one at all ; much more, wise men will not speak of a subject that does not pertain to them.

To Henry IV. of France, who was trying, against her opposition and her interests, to make peace with Spain after she had spent much treasure and blood to assist him to fight Philip :

The true sin against the Holy Ghost is ingratitude.

To some person unidentified :

I don't keep a dog and bark myself.¹

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

Let us not, nor do you, consult so long that advice come too late.²

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

If we still advise we shall never do.³

To de Quadra, the Spanish Ambassador :

They who think they are so clever will find themselves outwitted at last.⁴

¹ High authority vouches for this Saying, but I have not seen the original.

² Letter, *Sidney Papers* ; Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 218.

³ *Idem.*

⁴ Cf. *Cal. S.P. Spanish*, vol. i. p. 105.

To some party unknown :

Abstinence is the better part of physic.

To the French King, Henry III. :

If our actions, my dear brother, were always judged by our intentions, I should have no fear of any verdict condemning my tardy decision. But we princes being better able to judge of what concerns us than the ignorant spectators of our affairs, shall be careful, I hope, not to condemn each other rashly. I am persuaded that your experience of the way in which time furthers many difficult transactions while haste often spoils the best plans, will excuse me.

To a friend who asked her what troubled her :

Green wounds scarce abide the toucher's hand.

To somebody now unidentified, in a letter still preserved :

Friendship is the uniform consent of two minds, such as virtue links and nought but death can destroy.

To a correspondent now of uncertain identity :

Where minds differ and opinions swerve there is scant a friend in that company.

To Stafford, her Ambassador in France, speaking of a contemplated course of the Duke of Anjou who was then courting her :

Let him never procure her harm whose love he seeks to win.

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

Where then shall we wish the deeds while all was spent in words.¹

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

Essays be oft dangerous, specially where the cup bearer hath received such a preservative as, whatsoever betide the drinker's draught, the carrier takes no pain thereby.²

To Stafford in Paris :

The end crowneth the work.

To the same :

Hitherto they have thought me no fool ; let me not live the longer the worse.

To the same, on the dangers of her becoming involved deeply in the war between Spain and the Netherlands through supporting Alençon, whom she was perhaps to marry and who had accepted the sovereignty of that country :

Oh, what may they think of me that for any glory of mine own would procure the ruin of my land ?

To Fénelon and de la Mole :

I do not consider it the act of a Prince not to keep his word, to whomsoever he has given it.

To Doctor Dale, to say to the Queen-Mother of France, Catherine de' Medici, in behalf of a woman in exile for her religion :

¹ Letter, *Sidney Papers* ; Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 218.

² *Idem.*

It is a natural virtue incident to our sex to be pitiful of those that are afflicted.

To the French Ambassador :

I will not trust my body or my soul to anyone in the world.

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

A fool too late bewares when all the peril is past.¹

To Philip II., King of Spain, with respect to his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands and Zeeland :

What does it matter to your Majesty if they go to the devil in their own way ?

¹ Letter, *Sidney Papers* ; Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 218.

XII

THE ABSOLUTE MONARCH

To Burghley, Bacon, Northampton, Sadler, and Bedford, on their reporting that the Duke of Norfolk in dallying with a marriage with Mary Queen of Scots, had done nothing for which he could be beheaded :

Away ! What the law fails to do, my authority shall effect. [Upon this occasion she fell into one of the fits to which she was frequently subject.]

To Hunsdon, to say to James VI. of Scotland, who had made threats on learning of his mother's execution :

Being a queen and a prince sovereign [I am] answerable to none for my actions, otherwise than as I shall be disposed of my own free will, but to Almighty God alone.

To the Chaplain of the Royal Chapel when he began to read to the congregation—among whom, seated with her close to the altar, were the French Ambassador and a large embassy—a chapter of Holy Writ :

Not that ! I know that already. Read something else.

To her Council, after being asked by Cardinal Chastillon to consult it about her marriage with the French royal prince Anjou :

This, I can tell you plainly, I did not think good, and I replied to him : “ I am a Sovereign Queen,

and do not depend on my Council, but they on me, who hold their lives and heads in my hands, and they dare only do what I wish."

To Fénelon, the French Ambassador :

My wisest clergy maintain on the authority of Holy Writ that no rising against one's prince, not even for conscience's sake, can be just or reasonable.¹

To the Speaker of the House of Commons :

I will not impeach the freedom of their persons [of the members of the Commons] but they must beware lest, under colour of this privilege, they imagine that any neglect of their duty can be covered or protected.

To the Dean of St. Paul's, when he began to inveigh in his sermon to a great congregation against images in the churches :

Leave that alone ! To your text, Mr. Dean ! To your text ! Leave that. We have heard enough of that. To your subject !

To Parliament, when it urged her to marry and settle the succession :

You attend to your own duties and I'll perform mine.

To a Committee of Peers who were urging her to marry :

The Lords may pass a similar vote ; but their votes are but empty breath without my royal assent.

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iii. p. 64, Feb. 26, 1570.

To a Parliamentary deputation begging her to take a husband :

You are a lot of hare-brained politicians, unfit to decide such matters !

To the Speaker of the House of Commons :

If you perceive [in the House of Commons] any idle hands so negligent of their own safety as to attempt reforming the church, or innovating in the commonwealth, you will refuse the bills exhibited for that purpose, till they be examined by such as are fitter to consider of these things and to better judge of them.

To the Speaker of the House of Commons :

I shall not refuse them [the members of the Commons] access to my person, provided it be upon urgent and weighty causes, and at times convenient, and when I may have leisure from other important affairs of the Realm.

To a Committee of both Houses of Parliament which had demanded that she marry and name a successor : ¹

If that order had been observed in the beginning of the matter and such consideration had in the prosecuting of the same as the gravity of the cause had required, the success thereof might have been taken otherwise than now it is ; but those unbridled persons whose mouth was never snaffled by the rider did rashly ride

¹ The order of the sentences in this speech is uncertain, as it varies in different versions. This arrangement has been constructed from all of them, but no alteration has been made in the sentences themselves.

into it in the Common House of public place where Mr. Bell with his accomplices alleged they were natural Englishmen and were bound to their country which they saw must needs perish and come to confusion unless some order were taken for limitation of the succession of the Crown. I am not surprised at the Commons ; you have had small experience, and have acted like boys : but that you, my Lords, should consent with them, whereby you were seduced and of simplicity did assent unto it—which you would not have done if you had forseen before considerably the importance of the matter—has filled me with wonder. . . . And you Doctors [her scornful term for the Bishops present] : You, I understand, make long prayers about this business. One of you dared to say in times past that I and my sister were bastards ; and you must needs be interfering in what does not concern you. Go home and amend your own lives and set an honest example in your families. The Lords in Parliament should have taught you to know your places ; but if they have forgotten their duty I will not forget mine.

Was I not born in this Realm ? Were my parents born in any foreign country ? Is there any cause that I should alienate myself from being careful over this country ? Is not my Kingdom here ? Whom have I oppressed ? Whom have I enriched to other's harm ? What turmoil have I made to this Commonwealth that I should be suspected to have no regard of the same ? How have I governed since my Reign ?

I will be tried by any. I need not use many words, for my deeds do try me well.

The matter whereof, as I am informed, they would have made this petition, consisteth in two points : In my marriage and the limitation of the succession of the Crown.

I sent you answer by my Council I would marry, although of my own disposition I was not inclined thereto. But that was not accepted nor credited, although spoken by their prince. And yet I used so many words that I could say no more, and were it not now I spake these words I would never speak them again. Did I so choose, I might make the impertinence of the whole set of you an excuse to withdraw my promise. I might well excuse myself from marrying in the face of pressure from all of you, but, having in view the Good of the Country, I am determined to marry. It will be, however, with some one who will not please you, which has been partly my reason for avoiding it hitherto. But I will refrain no longer. Those who have shown most anxiety that I should marry have helped me but little to do so now, because the man who is to be my husband is a foreigner, and he will not think himself safe in your hands, if I, your lawful Queen, am to be so thwarted ; and I will not put up with it. But I will never break the word of a prince spoken in public place for my honour's sake ; and therefore I say again : I will marry as soon as I can conveniently, if God take not him away with whom I mean to marry, or myself, or else some other great

let happen. But they, I think, that move the same will be as ready to mislike with whom I shall marry as they are now to move it ; and then it will appear that they never meant it.

The second point was the limitation of successions of the Crown, wherein was nothing said for my safety but only for themselves. A strange thing the foot should direct the head in so weighty a cause ; which cause has been so diligently weighed by us, for that it toucheth us more than them.

I am sure there was none of them that was ever a second person as I have been, and have tasted of the practices against my sister, who I would to God were alive again. I had great occasions to harken to motions of some of them who are in the Common House ; but when friends fall out the truth doth appear, according to the old proverb, and were it not for my honour that knavery should be known. There were occasions in that time when I stood in danger of my life, my sister was so incensed against me. I did differ from her in religion, and I was sought for divers ways ; so shall never my successor be. . . .

They would have thirteen or fourteen limited in succession, and the more the better—and those shall be of such uprightness and so divine as they shall be divinity itself.

Kings were wont to honour philosophers ; but if I had such I would honour them as angels that should have such purity in them that they would not seek

when they are the second to be the first, and when they are third to be the second, and so on.

It is said I am not divine. Indeed, I studied nothing else but divine till I came to the Crown, and then I gave myself to the study of government, as was meet for me ; and I am not ignorant of history, wherein it appeareth what hath fallen out for ambition of kingdoms as in Spain, Naples, Portugal and at home ; and what cockings hath been between the father and the son for the same !

As for mine own part, I care not for death, for all men are mortal ; and, though I be a woman, I have as good a courage answerable to my place as ever my father had.

I am your anointed Queen. I will never be by violence constrained to do *anything*. I thank God I am endued with such qualities that if I were turned out of the Realm in my petticoat I were able to live in any place in christome.

Your petition is to deal in the limitation of the Succession. At this present, it is not convenient ; nor never shall be without some peril unto you and certain danger unto me ; but were it not for your peril at this time I would give place, notwithstanding my danger.

Your perils are sundry ways, for there are some among you who placed your swords at my disposal when my sister was on the throne and invited me to seize the crown ; I know but too well that if I allow a successor to be named there will be found men who will approach him or her with the same encouragement

to disturb the peace of the Realm. If I pleased I could name the persons to whom I allude.

Some may be touched who rest now in such terms with us as it is not meet to be disclosed either in the Common House or in the Upper House. But as soon as it may be convenient time and it may be done with less peril unto you—although never without great danger unto me—I will deal therein for your safety, and offer it unto you as your Prince and Head without request ; for it is monstrous that the feet should direct the head. . . .

To the Speaker of the House of Commons, after compelling him to deliver up to her a Bill she did not choose to submit to that body :

It is in my power to call parliaments, in my power to dissolve them, in my power to give assent or dissent to any determination which they should form. I have enjoined them already . . . to meddle neither with matters of state nor of religion . . . and I take the present opportunity to reiterate the commands given by the keeper, and to require that no bill regarding either state affairs or reformation in causes ecclesiastical be exhibited in the House. In particular, I charge you, upon your allegiance, if any such bills be offered, absolutely to refuse them a reading, and not so much as permit them to be debated by the members.

To a deputation of the House of Commons, whose members were urging her to name her successor :

My lords ! do yourselves what you choose ; but

as to myself, I will only act as I think proper. All the Orders you may make can have no force without my consent and authority. *What you desire is of too great importance to be declared to a collection of brains so light.* It well deserves that I should take the counsel of men who understand the rules of public right and the laws, as I am determined to do. I shall select half a dozen of the most competent which can be found in my kingdom to consult with them, and after such a conference I will communicate to you my will.

To the Bishop of Rennes, French Ambassador, who intimated that she perhaps needed to consult her advisers in the matters they were discussing :

I am not to be placed in the position of the King of France [Charles ix.] who, during his minority, had need of advisers ; I can decide for myself without the opinion of others.¹

To a Committee of the House of Commons, whose members had informed her that the Commons would only vote such money as the Realm required when she had settled the succession to her crown :

I know no reason why any my private answers to the realm should serve for prologue in a subsidy vote ; neither yet do I understand why such audacity should be used to make without my licence an Act of my words. Are my words like lawyer's books, which now-a-days go to the wire-drawers, to make subtle

¹ Translation ; *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, vol. vii. No. 436, Oct. 18, 1568.

doings more plain ? Is there no hold of my speech without an act to compel me to confirm ! Shall my princely consent be turned to strengthen my words, that be not of themselves substantives ? Say no more at this time, but if these fellows were well answered, and paid with lawful coin, there would be fewer counterfeits among them !¹

To Parliament, on its dissolution, after it had angered her by its effort to force her to name her successor and to marry :

My Lords and others the Commons of this assembly, although the Lord Keeper hath, according to order, very well answered in my name, yet as a periphrasis I have a few words further to speak unto you. Notwithstanding I have not been used, nor love to do it, in such open assemblies, yet now (not to the end to amend his talk, but remembering that commonly a Prince's own words be better printed in the hearer's memory than those spoken by her command) I mean to say this much unto you :

I have in this assembly found so much dissimulation where I always professed plainness, that I marvel thereat ; yea, two faces under one hood, and the body rotten, being covered with two visors, succession and liberty, which they determined must be either presently granted, denied, or deferred. . . .

They thought to work me that mischief which never foreign enemy could bring to pass, which is the hatred

¹ Brit. Mus. MS., Lansdowne, No. 1236, fol. 42.

of my Commons. But, alas, they began to pierce the vessel before the wine was fined, and began a thing not forseeing the end. . . .

[I] can, as meseemeth, very well divide the House into four : First, the broachers and workers thereof, who are in the greatest fault ; Secondly, the speakers, who by eloquent tales persuaded others, are in the next degree ; Thirdly, the agreeers who, being so light of credit that the eloquence of the tales so overcame them that they gave more credit thereunto than unto their own wits ; and lastly, those that sate still, mute and meddled not therewith but rather wondered, disallowing the matter ; who, in my opinion, are most to be excused.

But do you think that either I am unmindful of your surety by succession ?—wherein is all my care, considering I know myself to be mortal ? No, I warrant you ; or that I went about to break your liberties ? No, it was never in my meaning ; but to stay you before you fell into the ditch. For all things have their time. And although perhaps you may have after me one better learned or wiser, yet, I assure you, none more careful over you. And therefore, henceforth, whether I live to see the like assembly or no, or whoever it be, yet beware however you prove your prince's patience—as you have now done mine. And now to conclude, all this notwithstanding (not meaning to make a Lent of Christmas), the most part of you may assure yourselves that you depart in your Prince's grace.

To the House of Commons :

A few of you have justly merited the reproach of audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous: you have presumed to call in question my grants and prerogative. But I warn you, that since you thus wilfully forget yourselves, you are otherwise to be admonished: some other species of correction must be found for you, since neither my commands nor the example of your wiser brethren can reclaim your audacious, arrogant and presumptuous folly, by which you are thus led to meddle with what nowise belongs to you, and what is beyond the compass of your understanding.

To the Bishops of the Parliament, whose conduct she had condemned :

If you, my Lords of the clergy, do not amend, I mean to depose you. Look ye therefore well to your charges.¹

To a Committee of Parliament or to that body itself :

If I shall say unto you that I mean *not* to grant your petition, by my faith I should say unto you more than perhaps I mean. And if I should say unto you that I *mean* to grant your petition, I should then tell you more than is fit for you to know. And thus I must deliver you an answer : ANSWERLESS.

To a Committee of the Commons, headed by the Speaker, who objected to the charges of some of her household which came upon the State :

The regulation of my household and revenues belongs only to me. I have as much skill and power

¹ D'Ewes, *Journal*, p. 328.

to rule and govern them as my subjects have to rule and govern theirs without the aid of their neighbours.

To Parliament, upon its assembling in 1592 :

You are not called together to make new laws or lose good hours in idle speeches but to vote a supply to enable me to defend my realm against the hostile attempts of the King of Spain.

To Parliament, upon its petitioning for liberty of speech, freedom from arrest, and access to her person :

Your first prayer is granted with this qualification : That wit and speech are calculated to do harm, and your liberty of speech extends no further than " Ay " or " No " : and if any idle heads hazard their estates by meddling with the Church and State, the Speaker will not receive their bills.

[The petition of freedom from arrest was granted with this qualification] : That it is not to cover any man's ill-doings. As for the access to my presence, that is wholly to depend on the importance of the occasion and my leisure.

To the Speaker of the Commons :

Liberty of speech is granted to the Commons, but they must know what liberty they are entitled to ; not a liberty for every one to speak what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter ; their privilege extends no farther than a liberty of Aye or No.

To the House of Lords, at the opening of her last Parliament, 1601, delivered in her presence by the Lord

Keeper, Bacon. The speech is certainly of the Queen's composition. By this time she was so weak that she would have fallen under the weight of her robes during the ceremony had not an official caught her in time :

Touching your other requests—for freedom of speech, her Majesty willingly consenteth thereto, with this caution—That the time be not spent in idle and vain matter, painting the same out with froth and volubility of words, whereby the speakers may seem to gain some reputed credit by emboldening themselves to contradiction, and by troubling the House of purpose with long and vain orations to hinder the proceeding in matters of greater and more weighty importance.

Touching access to her person, she most willingly granteth the same, desiring she may not be troubled unless urgent matter and affairs of great consequence compel you thereunto—for this hath been held for a wise maxim : In troubling great estates you must trouble seldom.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury, Secretary Cecil, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Chief Justice Popham, and another :

Our servant, William Mill, clerk of the Council for three years past, has been called in question for supposed offences in the Star Chamber, the examination whereof we committed to you ; and finding by precedents shown us, and by most of your relations, that the pretended offences do not deserve the correcting desired, and the said office being of our proper

gift, we command that the said informations be by you revoked and made void, and that no offence supposed before the date hereof to be committed by Mill be further prosecuted.

To Bacon, who was continually trying to get her to save Essex, and who became so insistent and so warm in his defence that he saw he was violently displeasing her. He told her that, as a consequence, "My own fall is decreed." The Queen, without mentioning Essex, spoke kindly to Bacon, and reassuringly, saying :

Gratia mea sufficit. [My grace is sufficient for you.]

To the Dean of St. Paul's, who displeased her when preaching. She opened the door of her closet and ejaculated before the whole congregation :

Leave that ungodly digression and return to your text !

To Cecil, when he informed her that there was no law of England by which the Duke of Norfolk could be executed for intriguing to marry Mary Queen of Scots :

Get out ! What the laws cannot do to his head my authority will do !

XIII

MAXIMS OF GOVERNMENT

To a messenger, to say to Queen Mary, her sister, who had sent word that Elizabeth was to be her successor, but asked in return an agreement that the Council would not be changed, that the Catholic religion might remain as the established worship, and that Mary's debts should be paid ; 1558, æt. 25 :

I am very sorry to hear of the queen's illness, but there is no reason why I should thank her for her intention of giving me the crown of this realm, for she has neither the power of bestowing it upon me, nor can I lawfully be deprived of it, since it is my peculiar and hereditary right. With respect to the council, I think myself as much at liberty to choose my councillors as she was to choose hers. As to religion, I promise thus much, that I will not change it, provided, only, that it can be proved by the word of God, which shall be the only foundation and rule of my religion. Lastly, in requiring the payment of her debts, she seems to me to require nothing more than what is just, and I will take care that they shall be paid as far as may lie in my power.¹

¹ *Zurich Letters*, published by Parker Society.

To a person now unknown, reported by her godson, Harrington :

My State requires me to command what I know my people will willingly do from their own love to me.¹

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

Si violandum jus regnandi causa. [If the right must be violated, it must be for the sake of rule.]²

To Rosny, afterward the famous de Sully :

There is a vital necessity for keeping the power of the house of Austria within due bounds, in which we both ought to unite. But the Low Countries ought to form an independent republic. Neither the whole nor any part of these States need be coveted by either myself, the King of France, or the King of Scotland, who will become one day King of Great Britain. [This appears to be the first time that the words Great Britain were ever uttered.]

To Stafford in Paris, to be communicated to Alençon in the Netherlands :

Monsieur, may fortune ask you why should not the Low Countries be governed by the in-dwellers of that country as they were wont and yet under my superiority as that of the King of Spain? I answer: the case is too far different; since the one is far off by sea's distance and the other near upon the Continent.

¹ Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 711.

² Letter, *Sidney Papers*; Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 218.

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

Where might is mixed with wit, there is too good an accord in a government.¹

To the Three Estates of Scotland :

If every nobleman in Scotland will consider how necessary the friendship of England is to Scotland for the preservation of their liberties, they will all (chiefly for safeguard of themselves) join together in concord with England.

To a Scottish delegation :

I therefore wish that you all persist fast in a good concord, and not to dissever yourselves with any factions. The proverb is very true that darts foreseen hurt very little or not at all.

To the Earl of Oxford, who was asking permission to join in a revolution against the King of France :

I cannot wish that a man of such note among my people should find himself on the side of one who is fighting against his King.²

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

No, if I did not see the balances held awry, I had myself come into the weigh-house.

To Fénelon :

Sometimes a prince may have a very good right to a realm which he yet does not enjoy, and, except for

¹ Letter, *Sidney Papers* ; Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 218.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. i. p. 198, 1569.

the title, he is always in difficulties, either in conquering some of it or in defending all the rest : and thus the King of France has conquered by this peace¹ the most glorious realm in all the world : which up till now he has not been master of, and whose woes and discords no other country could have borne so long without a transformation, or the entire ruin of the state, which I advise him not to endanger further.²

To Philip II. of Spain, eleven years before the Armada :

Three reasons have moved us to send the bearer. . . . The sorrow we feel for the calamities and miserable events which have befallen your Serenity's Netherlands, the excessive and terrible shedding of Christian blood, and our desire in all sincerity to promote your honour and advantage. Each of these three subjects, if properly treated, will tend to your greater glory and benefit, whereas the neglect of them, either by evil council or oversight, must result in great loss and evil consequences to your Serenity's interests.

To ———, about the conspiracy to make Lady Catherine Grey her successor :

There are so many conspirators that we shall have to overlook it.

¹ The peace of the Treaty of St. Germain, 1570, by which the religious wars in France were terminated, only to break out again soon in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iii. p. 295.

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

A strength to harm is perilous in the hand of an ambitious head.¹

To Philip II., on the subject of the wars in the Netherlands :

As the destruction and desolation of dominions hinders Kings themselves from founding their power and glory on the opulence of prosperous citizens, and the diminution of public wealth strikes at the basis of the power of those who govern, so is it unworthy of the regal office and dignity to judge harshly those who love and strive for us.

To Walsingham, to whom she had remarked that she only required the papists to obey the laws :

For I make no windows into the hearts of men.

To Leycester, when he urged that he ought to be forgiving toward his enemies in the Netherlands :

You conceived, it seemeth, that a more sharper manner of proceeding would have exasperated matters to the prejudice of the service, and therefore you did think it more fit to wash the wounds rather with water than vinegar, wherein we would rather have wished, on the other side, that you had better considered that festering wounds had more need of corrosives than lenitives.

To Sir W. Bower :

And if it may be deemed that wee doe lesse value

¹ *Sidney Papers.*

creatures who are more remote from us then of others who daily are in compasse of our eye, surely they shal be deceived, for in our care for their preservation (over whome God hath constituted us equally the only head and Ruler) we never do admitt any inequality or difference of care, either for point of justice to be administered by ourselves or satisfaction to be procured from them that may oppresse them.

To Leycester, who expressed a wish to overlook the injuries done him by the Netherlands :

Your own judgment ought to have taught that such a slight and mild kind of dealing with a people so ingrate and void of consideration as the said Estates have showed themselves towards us, is the ready way to increase their contempt.¹

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

I hope that I shall have so good customer of you that all under officers shall do their duty among you.²

To an official, who had asked her opinion of the right of Sir Thomas Arundel to precedence in England because of a foreign honour which he had received :

There is a close tie of affection between sovereigns and their subjects ; and as chaste wives should have no eyes but for their husbands, so faithful liegemen should keep their regards at home and not look after foreign crowns. For my part I like not for my sheep to wear a stranger's mark nor to dance after a foreigner's whistle.

¹ Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 228.

² *Sidney Papers*.

To Fénelon :

Many concessions are obtained and arranged through the good graces and good will of well-born princes which are easily distorted when it is desired to give other meanings to them.¹

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

Believe not, though they swear, that they can be full sound whose parents sought the rule that they full fain would have. I warrant you they will never be accused of bastardy ; they will trace the steps that others have trod before.

To Catherine de' Medici :

My peaceful government and security have not so lulled me to sleep that I have not made provision for any accident.

To the French Ambassador :

It is much more necessary to keep secrets in the courts of princes, for there is an infinite number of devils who spy on their actions to make trouble and thwart them.

To Fénelon :

I would gladly chastise those who represent things as different from what they are. Those who steal property or make counterfeit money are punished, and those ought to be still more severely dealt with who steal away or falsify the good name of a prince.²

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. ii. p. 213, 1569.

² *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 84, 1569.

To her Council, referring to her duty with respect to the Queen of Scots :

It is my duty to put an end to the evil designs of my enemies while it is in my power to do so, lest, by not doing it, I shall seem to tempt God's mercy rather than manifest my trust in His protection.¹

To Sir Philip Sidney, after he had had some words with an earl :

There is a great difference in degree between earls and private gentlemen, and princes are bound to support the nobility and to insist upon their being treated with proper respect.

To Sir Edward Stafford, her Envoy in Paris, upon her perceiving that some of her instructions which had been imparted to him and others at different times had been neglected, a fault she now sought to cure by forwarding many directions in one document :

When I make collection of sundry kinds of discontentments, all tied in a bundle, I suppose the fagot will be harder altogether to be broken.

To Harrington's wife, who said that she kept her husband's affection by such conduct as proved her own to him :

Go to—go to ! mistress. You are wisely bent I find ; after such sort do I keep the good will of all my husbands—my good people—for if they did not rest assured of some special love towards them, they would not readily yield me such good obedience.²

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper.

² *Nugae Antiquae*, vol. i. pp. 177, 178.

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

I pray God your old straying sheep, late as you say, returned into fold, wore not her woolly garment upon her wolfy back.¹

To Sir Thomas Shirley, who pleaded for leniency to Leycester in the Netherlands :

You know my mind. I may not endure that my man should alter my commission, and the authority that I gave him, upon his own fancies and without me.

To Fénelon :

Monarchs ought to put to death the authors and instigators of war, as their sworn enemies and as dangers to their states.

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

You know a kingdom knows no kindred.²

To Francis Bacon, when the Queen was insisting on the importance of the mien and appearance of an official :

Bacon, how can the magistrate maintain his authority, if the man be despised ?

To Fénelon :

I know that in my court, as in the courts of all princes, there are divisions and secret hatreds. I am always careful to discriminate between those who advise me from affection for my service and welfare of my subjects, and those who advise me for other reasons.

¹ *Sidney Papers.*

² *Idem.*

To Beale, to say to Mary Queen of Scots :

My good subjects . . . will be found as ready to hazard their goods and lives in my service as ever for any other Prince who [has] occupied the place I now hold, having always carried a singular care to conserve their good will and love by delivering justice to them without respect of persons, and not grieving them with such heavy impositions and taxations as by other Princes in these days are laid upon subjects ; having at no time committed anything that might breed alienation of their love toward me.¹

To Fénelon, on his presentation of his credentials from his new King, Henry III. :

Although I may not be a lioness, I am a lion's cub, and inherit many of his qualities ; and as long as the King of France treats me gently he will find me as gentle and tractable as he can desire ; but if he be rough, I shall take the trouble to be just as troublesome and offensive to him as I can.²

To Leycester, complaining of unauthorized promises made by Heneage to the Netherlands :

Ministers in matters of that moment should not presume to do things of their own heads without direction.

To the French Ambassador :

I learned by experience how to keep silent during the time of Queen Mary when had anything been proven against me I should have lost my life.

¹ Nov. 1581. Cf. *Cal. S.P. Scotland*, vol. vi. No. 79.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper.

To Fénelon :

I would rather go to any extreme than suffer anything that is unworthy of my reputation, or of that of my crown.¹

To those who had urged her to give away a point owing to a threat by the King of France :

Nothing ought to induce me to show honour to those who wish to belittle mine, nor to court the friendship of those who scorn it : and I should lower the dignity of the Crown of England too much if I showed myself amenable to threats.

To Fénelon, referring to St. Bartholomew :

It is not lawful for even Princes to kill, nor to cause to kill, except in two cases only : one in legitimate warfare ; and the other in the execution of justice, to punish crimes : and no others but Princes and magistrates have power of life and death.²

To the French Ambassador :

As for the Turk, the proper way to defeat him would be for all the Christian princes to unite and arrange their religious differences : not to make a league against him in appearance only, of a part of the forces of Christendom, with the real intention of ruining the rest.³

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iii. p. 388, 1570.

² *Idem*, vol. v. p. 186.

³ *Idem*, vol. v. p. 232.

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

If aught have been amiss at home I will patch, though I cannot whole it.

To the Earl of Lennox, when he asked for some money to pay his Scottish troops :

I would rather spend my money in hiring my own folks.

To one of her boatmen who was shot when within six feet of her on her barge in the Thames. She took off her scarf and gave it to him to bind over his wound, which was bleeding profusely :

Be of good cheer, for you will never want, for the bullet was meant for me, though it hit you.

To some of her counsellors, who urged her to send more soldiers to the Netherlands :

I will see an account of those already sent over before I yield my assent to the sending over of any more.

To Sussex, to say to the Austrian Archduke, in whose behalf it had been suggested that the difference in religions between them, if they were to marry, could be adjusted if she would change the laws so that he could hear mass :

It would touch my reputation to change my laws for a marriage and the example would breed more trouble than could well be remedied.

To de Noailles, the French Ambassador, who promised that his king would not attack her :

It may be so ; but I find it well to be prepared. In times of danger it is the custom of England to arm.

If we are well prepared you will be the less tempted to meddle with us.¹

To Fénelon :

Princes have big ears which hear far and near.²

To Fénelon :

I rely only on the favour of God, the state that I hold from Him and on the goodwill my subjects bear me as a result of benefits and good treatment.³

To the King of France ; 1577, æt. 44 :

Whoever may pretend to make justifiable war against me will have but small reason, seeing that I govern an empire and am invested with a crown granted to me by the late King, my father. I do not demand the rights of others. I rule in justice. I maintain my subjects in peace. I fear no other princes. I trust in God, who is the author of justice, and who will defend me against evil-doers.⁴

¹ Translation, Teulet, vol. i., Nov. 9, 1559.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. ii. p. 212, 1569.

³ *Idem*, vol. i. p. 5, 1568.

⁴ Translation ; *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, vol. vii. p. 561.

XIV

DRIVING THE TEAM

To Burghley, on making him her chief minister ; 1558, æt. 25 :

I give you this charge that you shall be of my privy council, and content yourself to take pains for me and my realm. This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted by any manner of gift, and that you will be faithful to the state ; and that, without respect to my private will, you will give me that counsel which you think best, and if you shall know anything necessary to be declared to me of secrecy, you shall shew it to myself only, and assure yourself I will not fail to keep taciturnity therein, and therefore herewith I charge you.

To Walsingham :

The only thing you are good for is as a protector of heretics.

To Heneage, her representative in the Netherlands, who had gone beyond his powers and promised that she would not make peace with Spain until she had received the assent of the Netherlands thereto :

We princes be wary enough of our bargains. Think you I will be bound by your own speech *to make no*

peace for mine own matters without their consent? It is enough that I injure not their country nor themselves in making peace for them without their consent. I am assured of your dutiful thoughts, but I am utterly at squares with this childish dealing.

To Buckhurst, who had not followed her instructions in the Netherlands :

Oh ! weigh deeplier this matter than with so shallow a judgment to spill the cause, impair my honour, and shame yourself, with all your wit that once was supposed better than to lose a bargain for the handling.¹

To Sir John Norris in the Netherlands, who was in a constant quarrel with Leycester, his commander :

Lay aside all private respects or passion, and bend your mind wholly to the advancement of the service you have in hand.

To Heneage, who had exceeded his instructions :

What phlegmatical reasons soever were made you, how happeneth that you will not remember that when a man hath faulted and committed by abettors thereto, neither the one nor the other will willingly make their own retreat. Jesus ! what availeth wit when it fails the owner at greatest need ?

The Queen to the Lord Deputy in Ireland, Mountjoy :

MISTRESS KITCHENMAID,—I had thought that precedence had been ever in question, but among the higher and greater sort ; but now I find by good proof

¹ Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 237.

that some of more dignity and greater calling may by good desert and faithful care give the upper hand to one of your faculty, that with your frying-pan and other kitchen stuff have brought to their last home more rebels, and passed greater break-neck places, than those that promised more and did less. Comfort yourself therefore in this, that neither your careful endeavour, nor dangerous travails, nor heedful regards to our service, without your own by-respects, could ever have been bestowed upon a prince that more esteems them, considers and regards them than she for whom chiefly, I know, all this hath been done, and who keeps this verdict ever in store for you ; that no vainglory, nor popular fawning can ever advance you forward, but true vow of duty and reverence of prince, which two afore your life I see you do prefer.

And though you lodge near Papists, and doubt you not for their infection, yet I fear you may fall in an heresy, which I hereby do conjure you from ; that you suppose you be backbited by some to make me think you faulty of many oversights and evil defaults in your government. I would have you know for certain that, as there is no man can rule so great a charge without some errors, yet you may assure yourself I have never heard of any had fewer ; and such is your good luck that I have not known them, though you were warned of them.

And learn this of me, that you must make difference betwixt admonitions and charges, and like of faithful advices as your most necessariest weapons to save

you from blows of princes' mislike. And so I absolve you *a poena et culpa* [from punishment and blame] if this you observe. And so God bless and prosper you as if ourself were where you are.

Your Sovereign that dearly regards you.¹

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

HARRY,—If our partial, slender managing of the contentious quarrel between the two Irish rebels did not make the way to cause these lines to pass my hand, this gibberish should hardly have cumbered your eyes ; but, warned by my former faults, and dreading worser hap to come, I rede [advise] you take good heed. Suffer not that Desmond's daring deeds, far wide from promised works, make you trust to other pledge than himself, or John, for gage. He hath so well performed his English vows that I warn you trust him no farther than you see one of them.²

To the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, who had informed her that Shane O'Neal might head a rebellion against her authority there :

As touching your Suspition of Shane O'Neal, be not dismayed, nor let any of my men be daunted ; but tell 'em, that if he arise, it will be for their advantage, for there will be estates for them who want ; nor must he ever expect any more favour from me.³

To Bacon, after he had told her not to release Mary Queen of Scots at the orders of France, vowing that

¹ Dec. 3, 1600.

² *Sidney Papers.*

³ Ware, *Annals of Ireland*, 1564 ; Dublin Ed. (1705). Sole authority.

if France went to war for Mary, he himself would kill her :

Your advice is always like yourself, who have never given me any that is not rash and dangerous : and, so far from wishing to acquire another kingdom at the price of the death of my cousin, I would rather lose my own life than consent to it.¹

To Mountjoy, commanding in Ireland, who had written her of a reverse to his arms which he feared would make her blame him :

THE QUEEN TO LORD MOUNTJOYE

O what melancholy humour hath exhaled up into your brain from a full fraughted heart that should breed such doubt—bred upon no cause given by us at all, never having pronounced any syllable upon which such a work should be framed ! There is no louder trump that may sound out your praise, your hazard, your care, your luck, than we have blasted in all our court, and elsewhere, indeed !

Well, I will attribute it to God's good providence for you, that (lest all these glories might elevate you too much) he hath suffered (though not made) such a scruple to keep you under his rod, who best knows we have more need of bits than spurs. Thus *valeant ista amara ; ad Tartaros eat melancholia !* [Farewell to such miseries ; to Hell with melancholy !]—Your sovereign,

E. R.

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iii. p. 189, June 11, 1570.

[Endorsed in the hand of Robert Cecil :—" A copy of her Majesty's letter, lest you cannot read it " ; then, in Lord Mountjoy's hand, " Received in January, at Arbracken."

To Lord Strange, who had begged to be allowed to leave his post abroad :

Considering your absence, we have earnest with our cousyn your wiff, that she wold move you to send up your eldest sone to be here some tyme that both we might see hym and his mother might have some comfort of hym, and cheffly that he might here lern some nurture and be fashioned in good manners mete for one such as he is and hereafter shall be by course of nature mete to serve the realme.

To Lord Hunsdon :

We are right glad that it hath pleased God to assist you in your late service against that cankered subtle traitor Leonard Dacre, whose force being far greater in number than yours, you have overthrown, and he thereupon was the first that fled, having a heart readier to show his unloyal falsehood than to abide the fight ; though we could have desired to have him taken yet we thank God that he is overthrown, and forced to fly our realm to his like company of rebels, whom we doubt not but God will confound with such ends as are meet for them. We will not now by words express how inwardly glad we are that you have had such success, whereby your courage in such an unequal match, your faithfulness and your wisdom is seen to

the world, this being the first fight in field in our time against rebels, but we mean also by just reward to let the world see how much we esteem such a service as this is. And we would have you thank God heartily, and comfort yourself with the assurance of our favour. We have also sent our letter of thanks to Sir John Forster, and would have you thank our faithful soldiers of Berwick, in whose service we repose no small trust. I doubt much, my Harry, whether that the victory were given me more joyed me, or that you were by God appointed the instrument of my glory ; and I assure you for my country's good the first might suffice, but for my heart's contentation the second more pleased me. It likes me not a little that, with a good testimony of your faith, there is seen a stout courage of your mind, that more trusted to the goodness of your quarrel than to the weakness of your number. Well, I can say no more, *beatus est ille servus quem, cum Dominus venerit, invenerit faciendo sua mandata* [happy is that servant who, when the Master comes, is found fulfilling his commands] ; and that you may not think that you have done nothing for your profit, though you have done much for honour, I intend to make this journey somewhat to increase your livelihood, that you may not say to yourself, *perditus quod factum est ingrato* [what is done for an ingrate is lost].—Your loving kinswoman,

ELIZABETH R.¹

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, Feb. 26, 1570 ; *Addenda*, 1566-79, No. 112, p. 245.

To Fenton, speaking of Lady Mary Howard, one of Elizabeth's personal attendants who had been careless :

I will no more show her any countenance but out with all such ungracious flouting wenches ! . . . I have made her my servant and she will now make herself my mistress !

To Hunsdon, after his success in quelling the northern rebellion :

You must not judge us by outward show, for you know that when you were at Court, we did not use such countenance to you as nature moved us ; but though we do not demonstrate love in words and letters, we shall in deeds.

To Admiral Howard, who commanded the English ships that fought the Armada :

I consider you and your officers as persons born for the preservation of your country.

To Sir Nicholas Bacon :

I have followed your advice, these two years past, in all the affairs of my kingdom, and I have seen nothing but trouble, expense, and danger. From this hour, for the same length of time, I am going to follow my own opinion, and see if I find I do any better.¹

To Sir Amias Paulet, her jailor of Mary Queen of Scots :

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO SIR AMIAS PAULET

Amias, my most faithful and careful servant, God

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iii. p. 362, Nov. 9, 1570.

reward thee treble-fold for thy most troublesome charge so well discharged. If you knew, my Amias, how kindly, besides most dutifully, my grateful heart accepts and prizes your spotless endeavours and faultless actions, your wise orders and safe regard, performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would ease your travails and rejoice your heart, in which I charge you place this most just thought, that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgment the value that I prize you at, and suppose no treasures to countervail such a faith. If I reward not such deserts, let me lack when I have most need of you ; if I acknowledge not such merit, *non omnibus dictum*.

Let your wicked murderess [his prisoner, Mary Queen of Scots] know how, with hearty sorrow, her vile deserts compel these orders, and bid her, from me, ask God forgiveness for her treacherous dealings towards the saviour of her life many a year, to the intolerable peril of my own, and yet, not contented with so many forgivenesses, must fault again so horribly, far passing women's thought, much less a princess ; instead of excusing whereof, not one can sorrow, it being so plainly confessed by the authors of my guiltless death.

Let repentance take place, and let not the fiend possess her, so as her better part may not be lost, for which I pray with hands lifted up to Him, that may both save and spill.

With my most loving adieu and prayer for thy long

life, your most assured and loving sovereign, as thereby by good deserts induced.¹

To Willoughby, who had been attacked by the Earl of Southampton because he had carried out his orders. The former pulled out some of the hair of the Earl in the mêlée, and the Queen publicly thanked Willoughby for daring to perform his orders impartially, especially to so close a friend of Essex as was Southampton. To cause such a disturbance in the precincts of the palace was to expose the offender to the loss of his right hand, but Elizabeth told Willoughby :

You would have done better if you had sent Southampton to the porter's lodge [that is, to the guard] to see who would dare to fetch him out !

To Davison, to send to Burghley and Walsingham after they had left London for Fotheringay for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots :

Tell them both how greatly I long to hear how my spirit [her favourite nickname for Burghley] and my moon [Walsingham] find themselves after so foul and wearisome a journey.

To Blount, after he had been sent back from the Netherlands, to which he had run away in order to fight in her armies :

Serve me so once more and I will lay you fast enough for running ! You will never leave off till you are knocked over the head as that inconsiderate fellow Sidney was. You shall go when I send you. In the

¹ P.R.O. MS., Mary Queen of Scots ; this is in very beautiful penmanship.

meantime see that you lodge in the court where you may follow your books, read, and discourse of the wars.

To Heneage, who had not followed his orders in the Netherlands :

Do that you are bidden, and leave your considerations for your own affairs. For in some things you had clear commandment, which you did not, and in others none, and did.

XV

AMBASSADORS

To Fénelon, the French Ambassador, with reference to the death of the Queen of Spain, of which fact Philip II. had neglected to notify Elizabeth, as was customary :

I suppose the King of Spain did not wish to write to me, or rather that the Duke of Alva had detained the letter, under the notion that it was not quite decent that so soon after the death of the queen his wife, he should be sending letters to an unmarried girl, like me : But I waited still some days, and then ordered the obsequies for the deceased queen to be made.¹

To Fénelon :

His Majesty of France has acted like a good doctor, who, having to give very bitter pills to his patient, covers them with sugar : thus his opening words of thanks were most gracious and sweet : but the later ones are very bitter and sharp.²

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador :

What ! Have they not given you a lodging ? My people shall learn in a way they will not forget how you are to be treated. You shall occupy my own chamber, and I will give you my key.

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. i.

² *Idem*, vol. iii. p. 135, May 3, 1570.

To the Duke of Alva, notifying him that she has dismissed the Ambassador of Philip II. :

So as we can no more indure hym to continue than a person that wold secretly seke to inflame our Realme with fire brands . . . we have given hym orders to depart, without entrying into any particular debate whereunto he is naturally gyven.

To Menyn, one of the Envoys from the Estates-General of the Netherlands, who had solicited her to send more money and men to help them against Spain. This speech of Elizabeth was long, extempore, and in French :

Our common adage which we have in England is a very good one : When one fears that an evil is coming, the sooner it arrives the better. Here is a quarter of a year that I have been expecting you. . . . 'Tis very strange that you should begin by soliciting still greater succour without rendering me any satisfaction for your past actions, which have been so extraordinary that I swear by the living God I think it impossible to find peoples or states more ungrateful or ill-advised than yourselves.

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador, speaking of the rebels in Flanders who had risen against Philip II. :

I do not know what these devils want !

To Fénelon :

It seems as if Their Very Christian Majesties, as allies of us both, have constituted themselves judges between us ; but they keep the ear that ought to be open on my side closed ; and that on the side of the

Queen of Scots very prompt and always attentive to all her complaints.¹

To Walsingham, when leading to him by the arm, while she laughed, the French Ambassador, who had been lately involved in a conspiracy to assassinate her :

Here is the man who wanted to get me murdered ! [She then said to the Ambassador :] I never believed that you had any share in the plot. All I complain of is your saying, " I am not bound to reveal anything to the Queen even though her life be in danger " ; in which, however, you only spoke as an ambassador, for I consider you as a man of honour who loves me and as one to whom I might entrust my life. Allowance ought to be made for the times and the irritation of sovereigns . . . and as I formerly wrote to your sovereign against you I will now write for you.

To the Envoys of the Netherlands, who had come for more assistance against the Spaniards :

I sent you the Earl of Leycester as lieutenant of my forces. . . . You have given him the title of governor, in order, under this name, to cast all your evils on his head. That title he accepted against my will, by doing which he ran the risk of *losing his life* and his estates and the grace and favour of his Princess, which was more important to him than all. But he did it in order to maintain your tottering state. And what

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iii. p. 380, Nov. 25, 1570.

authority, I pray you, have you given him ? A shadowy authority, a purely imaginary one. This is but mockery . . . by the living God I would not have suffered you so to treat me. But you are so badly advised that when there is a man of worth who discovers your tricks, you wish him ill and make an outcry against him ; and yet some of you in order to save your money, and others in the hope of bribes, have been favouring the Spaniard. . . . Yet in order to cover up their filth they spread the story that the Queen of England is thinking of treating for peace without their knowledge. . . . But princes must listen to both sides, and that can be done without breach of faith. For they transact business in a certain way, and with a princely intelligence, such as private persons cannot imitate. You are States, to be sure, but private individuals in regard to princes. . . . You have issued a proclamation in your country that no one is to talk of peace. Very well, very good. But permit princes likewise to do as they shall think best for the security of their state, provided it does you no injury. Among us princes we are not wont to make such long orations as you do, but you ought to be content with the few words that we bestow upon you, and make yourself quiet thereby. If I ever do anything for you again, I choose to be treated more honourably. I shall therefore appoint some personages of my council to communicate with you. And in the first place I choose to hear and see for myself what has taken place already, and have satisfaction about that before I

make any reply to what you have said to me as to greater assistance. And so I will leave you to-day, without troubling you further.¹

To Paulus Jaline, Ambassador from Poland, who, in 1597, before her entire Court which she had summoned to hear what she thought was to be a very complimentary message, made threats that his master would punish her if she did not comply with his demands forthwith. At such an affront, Elizabeth, leaping from her throne, and thrusting aside her Lord Chancellor, whose place it was to respond, broke out, in Latin, in the following extempore rejoinder :

I looked for an Embassy ; but you have brought a complaint to me. I understood by your letters that you were a legate, but I find you a herald. Never in my life have I heard such an oration. I marvel at so great and such unaccustomed boldness in a public assembly. Neither do I think, if your King were present, that he would say so much. But if by chance he did commit any such thing to your charge (which I surely much doubt) this is the reason : That where the King is young, and not by blood, but by election, and newly elected, he does not so perfectly understand the course of dealing in such businesses with other Princes, which either his ancestors have observed with us, or perhaps others will observe that afterward shall succeed in his place. For your part you seem to me

¹ Translation from French original, Hague Archives MS., "Reponse de Sa Majesté au Discourse de Sr. de Menin." Cf. *Bor* (of Utrecht), ii., xxii. 873, 874 ; Wagenaar, viii. 193, 194 ; Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. pp. 188-189.

to have read many books, but not to have come to the books of princes, but altogether to be ignorant what is to be observed between Kings. But were it not for the place you hold, to have so public an imputation thrown upon our justice, which as yet never failed, we would answer this audacity of yours in another style. And for the particulars of your negotiations, we will appoint some of our council to confer with you, to see upon what grounds this clamour of yours has its foundation ; In the meantime, farewell, and be quiet.

[After she had concluded and the astounded Ambassador had vanished, the Queen broke into laughter and said :]

God's death, my Lords ! but I have been enforced this day to scour up my old Latin that hath lain long rusting.

To the Polish Ambassador, who had congratulated her upon her birthday, and had closed his speech with the hope that his master's requests might be happily complied with before the night fell :

You may think it a great miracle that a child born at four of the clock this morning should be able to answer so learned and wise a man as you are, sent from so great a prince as you be, about so great and weighty affairs you speak of, and in an unknown tongue, by three of the clock in the afternoon.

XVI

PRINCES

To Catherine de' Medici :

It is a sorrow to me that, living so near France, I have not seen its lord [Charles ix., who had ordered the massacre of St. Bartholomew], and I often curse the sea for separating what has been joined by affection.

To the Regent of Scotland :

The late death of the French King [Charles ix.], though he might well be spared considering his bloody disposition, weighing who is to succeed him, cannot but be perilous to both the realms, and it behooves us to have our eyes open and shake off security.¹

To the Confederated States of the Netherlands :

As, to your disgrace, and without my knowledge, you have conferred the absolute government of the confederate states upon Leycester, my subject, though I had refused it myself, I now require you to eject Leycester from the office you have unadvisedly conferred upon him.²

¹ *Cal. S.P. For. Ser.*, June 4, 1574.

² *Sidney Papers*, vol. i. pp. 51-52.

To the States-General of the Netherlands, respecting her refusal to permit Leycester to have the supreme power there :

If any malicious or turbulent spirits should endeavour, perchance, to persuade the people that this our refusal proceeds from lack of affection or honest disposition to assist you—instead of being founded only on respect for our honour, which is dearer to us than life—we beg you, by every possible means, to shut their mouths.

To the French Ambassador, speaking of the rebellion of Condé :

There is nothing in the world I hold in greater horror than to see a body moving against its head : and I shall be very careful not to ally myself with such a monster.

To Heneage, to say to the States of the Netherlands regarding Leycester's acceptance of the office of governor-general :

You shall further let them understand that forasmuch as we conceive that the said acceptation hath greatly wounded our honour, . . . we have resolved to have the earl's authority revoked, requiring them therefore in our name to see the same executed out of hand.¹

To the States-General of the Netherlands, respecting

¹ Cotton MS., Galba, c. viii. fol. 24, Brit. Mus., Feb. 10, 1585-86.

their conferment of the office of governor-general upon Leycester :

To tell the truth, you seem to have treated us with very little respect, and put a too manifest insult upon us in presenting anew to one of our subjects the same proposition which we had already declined, without at least waiting for our answer whether we should like it or no ; as if we had not sense enough to be able to decide upon what we ought to accept or refuse.

To Heneage, when she sends him to the Netherlands to speak for her to Leycester :

Whereas, we have been given to understand that the Earl of Leycester hath in a very contemptuous sort—contrary to our express commandment given unto him by ourself—accepted of an offer of a more absolute government made by the States unto him, than was agreed on between us and their commissioners, which kind of contemptible manner of proceeding giveth the world just cause to think that there is not that reverent respect carried towards us by our subjects as in duty appertaineth ; especially seeing so notorious a contempt committed by one whom we have raised up and yielded, in the eye of the world, even from the beginning of our reign, as great portion of our favour as ever subject enjoyed at any prince's hands ; we therefore, holding nothing dearer than our honour, and considering that no one thing could more touch our reputation than to induce so open and public a faction of a prince and work a greater reproach than contempt at a subject's hands, without reparation of

our honour, have found it necessary to send you unto him. . . .¹

To Heneage, to say to the Netherlands States because they had made Leycester their governor against her command :

We find it strange . . . that you shew yourselves to have a very slender and weak conceit of my judgment, by pressing a minister of ours to accept that which we had refused, as though our long experience in government has not yet taught us to discover what were fit for us to do in matters of our state.²

To James VI., son of Mary Queen of Scots :

Amonge your manie studies, my deare Brother and Coson, I would Isocrates' noble lesson weare not forgotten that wills the Emperor his Sovvrain to make his words of more accompt then other men theare othes, as metest enseignes to showe the truest bage of a Prince's armes. It moveth me much to move you when I behold how diversely sundrie wicked pathes, and, like all evill illusions, wrapped under the cloke of your best safety, endanger your state and best good. How maie yt be that you can suppose an honorable awneswere maie be made me when all your doings gainsaie your former Vowes. You deale not with one whose experience can take drosse for good paiments, nor one that esily will be beguiled. No.

¹ P.R.O. MS., Feb. 10-20, 1586. For remainder of document *vide* Bruce, 105 *seq.*, *Leycester Correspondence*; also *vide* Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. i. pp. 396-397.

² Cotton MS., Galba, c. viii. fol. 24, Brit. Mus., Feb. 10, 1585-86.

No, I mind to sette to Schoole your craftiest counsiler. I am sorie to se you bent to wrong youre selfe in thinking to wronge others, yea thos which if they had not even than taken opertunitie to lett a ruin that was newly begun that plott would have perilled you more than a thowsand of such mere lives be worth that perswade you to vouche such deades to deserve a sawles pardon. Why doe you forgett what you write to myselfe with your owne hand, shewing howe dangerous a course the Duke was entred in, though yow excuse him sellf to thinke noe harm therin, and yet thay that with your safetie preserved yow from it must seme to give them reproche of gilty folke. I hope you more esteme honor then to give yt such a staine, since you have protested so often to have taken these Lordes for your most affectionate subjects, and to have done all for your best.

I beseech you passe no further in this cause till you receive an expresse messenger, a trusty servant of mine, from me, by whom I mean to deal like an affectionate sister with you, as of whom you shall see plainly you may receive honour and contentment with more surety to yourself and state than all these dissembling counsellors will or can bring you.¹

To Henry of Navarre, urging him against joining the league of France and Spain against her :

If you were conscious, my well beloved brother, of the sorrow, care, and grief I feel in my soul at the

¹ Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, p. 254.

perilous state into which you are allowing yourself rashly to be led, I assure myself that you would believe to have no being in this world on whom you could more surely rely without danger than upon me. My God, is it possible that a great King allows himself without reason and against honour to sue for peace to subjects, traitors, and rebels, and does not from the beginning cut asunder all commodities for their aggrandisement or at worst at this time of day constrain them by the force of a prince to submit to the yoke of their merit? I am astonished to see you betrayed in your Council itself, certainly of the nearest you have in the world, and that you are so blind as to tolerate it at all. Pardon my love which renders me so audacious as to speak to you so freely. Before God, I protest that I do it to no other end than for the honour of a King and the affection I have for you. Alas, do you believe that the cloak with which those of that religion cover themselves is so thick that one cannot see that it is not only in order to make themselves masters under your name, but under their religion?—and I pray God that they will end there. I do not believe it, because rarely one sees princes survive who are so subjugated. God keep us from making proof thereof; and again, if you please to awaken the royal spirit, you will see that we two (if it pleases you to make use of my aid) will make them feel it with the greatest shame that ever rebels had. Do not doubt that if your good subjects see you so earnestly take in hand this cause that they cannot

suspect, as many do, that you are of that party yourself, seeing your ways and the little heed you have shown yourself to take of them, they will assist you in such a way that [your rebels] alive or dead, will succumb and you will be served in perpetual honour. And those who tell you that the war in France is one to massacre your country—please God that a King ought rather hazard his life itself in one battle than accept that dishonour which grows from day to day ; better to lose 20,000 men than to reign at the pleasure of rebels. You will soon finish this business if you will put your hand to it and do not begin by a fine request for peace before you make them acknowledge themselves who are so impudent as to give you law with strange prescriptions and monstrous conditions in order to compel you to eat your word by a very unworthy challenge. Jesus ! has it ever been seen that a prince was so awed by traitors that he has neither courage nor counsel to answer them ? If a Queen in sixteen days could cause an army of 30,000 men to march to the field to chastise the dreams of two mad subjects, set on by another prince and not by their own [ambitions], what could not a King of France do against such as those who for a long period have their descent by direct line (as they pretend) from Charlemagne, claiming precedence to that of Valais ?—and who, to make their assertion better, give themselves out as champions of the Catholic religion of which you are ? and who reproach you for not being as faithful a servant of the church as themselves ? For the love

of God do not sleep longer this sleep already too long ; learn from me, your very faithful [friend] who will not fail to assist you if you do not abandon yourself. I hear of a respite of some days ; use this time to strengthen yourself, not to ruin yourself, and take care not to accede to their conditions, which will bring you dishonour and loss of state. I have been so badly treated by this gallant Duc d'Aumale that I cannot send you a special nobleman but have chosen this means as the best way, begging you to write to me freely what you decide to do, not awaiting their good pleasure, but your very important need ; praying the Creator to assist you with His holy grace and to raise your spirits. Your good sister and very faithful and assured cousin,

ELIZABETH.¹

To the King of France, when he refused to send a traitor to her :

The letters before the last sent to me by my ambassadors confirmed me in my love and honour for you, informing me of your great care of my life by giving order for the apprehension of him who has often attacked it in divers ways, being the greatest traitor ever living in a prince's realm. But this pleasure is like a fire made of straw, which flames up more than it endures, for now I have a packet which has made me very angry, hearing that not only was he not delivered into my hands, but that my ambassadors

¹ Translation from French original ; P.R.O. MS., France, vol. xiii., No. 139, May 1585.

have not been permitted to see his ciphers and writings. But, *qui pis est* [what is worse], my greatest enemies have been allowed to visit him, in order to agree upon the replies he shall make to hide the accomplices of such treachery. My God, what necromancy has driven you so mad as to blind your eyes so completely that you cannot see as in a mirror your own danger, you to whom God has not granted such success and adoring subjects that you may not have the balance of their fidelity shaken. Even amongst barbarians, such iniquity would be punished in exemplary fashion before the world. Certainly it would be expected from a most Christian King, and I swear to you that if he is to be denied to me, I shall conclude that I am not desiring a league with a King, but with a legate, or a governor of seminaries, and shall be ashamed to put myself into such bad company ; for I shall never think that such an act came from a nation so honourable and so royal as your own. . . .¹

To Catherine de' Medici, on the refusal of her son, the king of France, to deliver to Elizabeth an English traitor in France :

MADAME, MY GOOD SISTER,—This adage will excuse you in my conscience : *Chi fa quel que puo non è tenuto a fare più* [he who does his best is not held to do more]. For otherwise I should have too much cause to complain of a princess whom I have much loved that she should permit—at anyrate without remon-

¹ Translation from French original ; March 10-20, 1585.

strance—that the King should so much forget his office as to hold no account of the life and even of the reputation of a king like himself as not only not to deliver up the traitor, or failing that, not to allow a search for his papers, as if such a wretch were of more account than a prince. The time is perhaps coming, as has often been prophesied in the old times, that those who hinder so good an action will give him more pain indeed when a friendship such as mine may be of great use. I recall to my mind that all the monks of his country have not always that [single] eye fixed on himself alone without adoring somebody else. If the King will not so far respect me, you will see something astounding before you die, notwithstanding the legate and his fine following.¹

To the Prince of Orange, for his failure to support Alençon after he had come into the Netherlands :

To call a prince of that quality to their aid, and then to abandon him without giving him any other aid themselves, will only be to lead up to their own ruin and render themselves hateful to all the nations of the world, who will rightly detest such bad faith and ingratitude. As for ourself, if they act in this way, and behave so to him as to compel him to withdraw once more, in a manner of speaking, in his shirt sleeves to his dishonour, as he did the first time that he began to endeavour to disengage them from bondage to their

¹ Translation from French original; P.R.O. MS., France, March 10, 1585.

enemies, they may be assured that, sooner than see him in danger of falling into a like dishonour, we shall be the first to advise him flatly to leave the whole thing betimes, and to take no more account of them than their ingratitude deserves. And whereas perhaps they persuade themselves that our fortune is so much bound up in the success of theirs that we have reason, for our own private good, not to abandon them, we would testify to them that they will find themselves mistaken if they rest on that foundation.¹

To Henry IV., upon his changing his religion from Protestant to Catholic :

TO THE KING OF FRANCE

Nov. 12, 1593.

Ah, what grief ! ah, what regret ! ah, what pangs have seized my heart, at the news which Morlant has communicated ! My God ! is it possible that any worldly consideration could render you regardless of the divine displeasure ? Can we reasonably expect any good result can follow such an iniquity ? How could you imagine that He, whose hand has supported and upheld your cause so long, would fail you at your need ? It is a perilous thing to do ill that good may come of it ! Nevertheless, I yet hope your better feelings may return, and, in the meantime, I promise to give you the first place in my prayers, that Esau's hands may not defile the blessing of Jacob. The friendship and fidelity you promise to me, I own I

¹ *Cal. S.P. Foreign*, p. 267, 1582.

have dearly earned ; but of that I should never have repented, if you had not abandoned your father. I cannot now regard myself as your sister, for I always prefer that which is natural to that which is adopted, as God best knows, whom I beseech to guard and keep you in the right way, with better feelings.

Your sister, if it be after the old fashion : with the new I will have nothing to do. E. R.¹

To Henry IV. of France, after an attempt on his life by a Catholic after Henry's adoption of that faith :

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE KING OF FRANCE

. . . I entreat you to believe that I should think myself too happy, if Fortune should ever send an hour in which I could, by speech, express to you all the blessings and felicity that my heart wishes you ; and among the rest, that God may accord to you the grace to make a difference between those that never fail you, and spirits ever restless. It appears to me that gratitude is sacrifice pleasant in the sight of the Eternal, who has extended His mercy more than once to guard you in so narrow an escape, that never prince had a greater. Which, when I heard, I had as much joy as horror of the peril thereof. And I have rendered very humble thanks on my bended knees, where solely it was due, and thought that He had sent you this wicked herald to render you more chary of your person, and make your officers of your chamber take more

¹ Translation from French original ; Cotton MS., Titus, c. vii. fol. 161. Camden prints this document in substance but not in detail.

care. I have no need to remind you of some shops, where fine drugs are forthcoming, and it is not enough to be of their religion. You staid long enough among the Huguenots, at first, to make them think of the difference, and you may well fear ! You will pardon always the faults of good affection, which renders me so bold in your behalf ; and I am very glad to hear that you dare, without the licence of licentiates, do so much for your surety and honour, to crush this single seed [referring to Chalet] which has sown more tares in a dozen years, than all Christian princes can exterminate in as many ages. God grant that they may be uprooted out of your dominions ! Yet no *phrenatique* [fanatic] can you lead to such just reasoning. I make no doubt but that the Divine hand will avert from you all bad designs, as I supplicate very humbly, and recommend myself a thousand times to your good graces.—Your very affectionate sister,

ELIZABETH.¹

To the French Ambassador, Chasteauneuf, who in the name of his King had demanded that Mary Queen of Scots be permitted to have counsel at her trial :

I require not the advice or schooling of foreign powers to instruct me how I ought to act. I consider the Scottish Queen unworthy of counsel.²

¹ Translation from French original, preserved in the Imperial Autograph Collection at Petrograd. I cannot now vouch for the existence of this MS., but it was at Petrograd before the Great War.

² Translation from French original. Cf. Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 466.

To Catherine de' Medici :

Your son shall never have cause to accuse me of having failed in the good cause which I have begun unless I be roused by evil means which touch my honour and safety.

To Henry IV. of France, when sending him an army to assist him under the command of Essex, who was then but twenty-three :

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO HENRY IV. OF FRANCE

27th July 1591.

According to the promise which I have always kept in your behalf, my dearest brother, I send 4000 men to your aid, with a lieutenant, who appears to me very competent. His quality, and the place he holds about me, are such that it is not customary to permit him to be absent from me ; but all these reasons I have forgotten on the present occasion, preferring, to our own necessity and convenience, the gratification of your wish ; for which cause, I doubt not, you will respond, with an honourable and careful respect for your greatness, by giving him a favourable reception. In regard to his many merits, you may be assured, if (which most I fear) the rashness of his youth does not make him too precipitate, you will never have cause to doubt his boldness in your service, for he has given too frequent proofs that he regards no peril, be it what it may ; and you are entreated to bear in mind that he is too impetuous to be given the reins.

But, my God, how can I dream of making any reasonable requests to you, seeing you are so careless of your own life : I must appear a very foolish creature. Only I repeat to you, that he will require the bridle rather than the spur. Nevertheless, I hope he will be found to possess skill enough to lead his troops on to do you worthy service ; and I dare promise that our subjects are so well disposed, and have hearts so valiant, that they will serve you to ruin all your foes, if their good fortune corresponds with their desires. And now for the wages of all these forces, I must make you two requests : the first, on which depends their lives, your heart being such that nothing ought to be omitted that regards them, that you will cherish them, not as those who serve as mercenaries, but freely from good affection ; also, that you will not carry them into too great danger. You are so wise a prince, that I am assured you will not forget that our two nations have not often accorded so well but they would remember their ancient quarrels, not considering themselves of the same country, but separated by a mighty deep ; and that you will so bear it in hand, that no inconveniences shall arise when they arrive. I have, on my part, inculcated good lessons on my people, which, I am assured, they will observe.

And now, not to fatigue you with too long a letter, I will conclude with this advice : that, in approaching our coasts, you would not forget to *débouche* the way to Parma, in all directions where he might enter, for I am assured that he has received orders to press

towards the Low Countries, rather than to France.—
Your very assured good sister and cousin. E. R.¹

To Fénelon, when he presented a request from his royal master and the latter's brother, Anjou, who had formerly been a suitor for and had later refused Elizabeth's hand, and who had now become King of Poland, that the latter be given by her a free passage on the sea when he came to voyage to his new possession :

To the persons of the King of Poland and his train in ordinary, and his furniture and effects, I will willingly guarantee my protection, either with or without safe conduct, if the wind throws them on my coast, and they shall be treated as well and honourably as if they had landed on the coast of France, or in his own dominions ; but as to his men-at-arms, I will freely tell him that I will not let them pass. . . . The King, and Queen-Mother of France, and even the prince, had undoubtedly a great inclination for our marriage, but the Cardinal of Lorraine, for the sake of the Queen of Scots, his niece, found means to break it, and if he had sufficient credit to do that, he might have as much in things of less consequence, and would possibly attempt some enterprise in favour of his niece, if so many soldiers were allowed to land in England.²

To the French King when, contrary to their agreement, he had used against his own subjects the troops she had sent to him solely for operations against Spain :

¹ Printed by Mlle de Keralio, *Histoire d'Élizabeth*.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. v. p. 389.

I am astonished that any one, who is so much beholden to us for aid in his need, should pay his most assured friend in such base coin. Can you imagine that the softness of my sex deprives me of the courage to resent a public affront? The royal blood I boast could not brook from the mightiest prince in Christendom such treatment as you have, within the last three months, offered to me. Be not displeased if I tell you roundly, that if thus you treat your friends, who freely, and from pure affection, are serving you at a most important time, they will fail you hereafter at your greatest need. I would instantly have withdrawn my troops, had it not appeared to me that your ruin would have been the result, if the others, led by my example, and apprehending similar treatment, should desert you. This consideration induces me to allow them to remain a little longer; blushing, meantime, that I am made to the world the spectacle of a despised princess.

I beseech the Creator to inspire you with a better way of preserving your friends.—Your sister, who merits better treatment than she has had. E. R.¹

¹ Mlle de Keralio, *Histoire d'Élisabeth*, Nov. 9, 1591.

XVII

LEYCESTER

To a delegation from the House of Lords, whose members objected to her favours to Leycester. It is this Saying that gives us Elizabeth's own testimony of the FOUNDATION of her gratitude to and conduct toward him, of which so much has been said in the Introduction :

I have not thought of contracting a marriage with Dudley ; I only show him favour because of his goodness to me when I was in trouble during the reign of my sister. At that time he never ceased his former kindness and service, but even sold his possessions to provide me with funds ; and on this account it seems to me but just that now I should give him some reward for his fidelity and constancy.¹

To those about her when she believed herself to be dying with smallpox ; 1562, æt. 29 :

Although I have always dearly loved Lord Robert [Dudley, later Leycester], as God is my witness, nothing improper has ever passed between us.

To the Duke of Norfolk, who headed a delegation urging her to marry :

As for my marrying Robert, I have never thought nor dreamt of it ; but I want nevertheless to provide

¹ *Arcana seculi decimi sexti*, H. Languet, Book II. ep. xlvii., ed. 1699. To Ulrico Mordisio from Languet, June 16, 1561.

for him so that he shall never be in want and shall always be with me in an honourable position.

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador :

I am insulted both in England and abroad for having shown more favour than I ought to have shown to the Lord Robert. I am spoken of as if I were an immodest woman. I ought not to wonder at it : I have favoured him because of his excellent disposition and for his many merits ; but I am young and he is young and therefore we have been slandered. God knows that it is a great iniquity, and the time will come when the world will know it also. My life is not in the dark, and I have so many witnesses that I cannot understand how so bad a judgment can have been formed of me. But what can we do ? We cannot cover every one's mouth, but must content ourselves with doing our duty and trust in God, for the truth will at last be made manifest. He knows my heart, which is very different from what people think, as you will see some day.¹

To Melville, Ambassador of Mary Queen of Scots, upon whom Elizabeth was urging Mary's marriage with Leycester :

It appears to me as if you make but small account of Lord Robert, seeing that you name the Earl of

¹ Translation from the original Spanish document at Simancas. Reprinted in the official Spanish publication, *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos* (Madrid, 1887) *para la Historia de España*, vol. lxxxix. p. 47 : Letter of Oct. 9, 1564, de Silva to Philip II. from London. This is the famous " thousand eyes " translation by Froude of which I have said so much in the Introduction.

Bedford before him ; but ere it be long I shall make him a greater earl, and you shall see it done before you, for I esteem him as one whom I should have married myself, if I had ever been minded to take a husband ; but being determined to end my life in virginity, I wish that the queen, my sister, shall marry him, for with him I might find it in my heart to declare Queen Mary second person rather than with any other ; for, being matched with him, it will best remove out of my mind all fear and suspicion of usurpation before my death.¹

To the French Ambassador :

The Earl of Leycester never ceases to press me to marry, and to accept this suitor [the King of France], in which I recognize more affection toward me than in anything else he has ever done up to the present in my service.

To the French Ambassador, when he urged that Leycester be sent to France to see the King of that country ; 1565, æt. 32 :

It will not greatly honour me to send a groom to so great a prince, and I could not be without him once a day ; he is like my little dog, so much so that when they see him enter anywhere they say at once that I am coming.

To some person now unknown, speaking of Leycester :

I ever love his virtues, but I cannot take a subject for my husband.

¹ Sir James Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 119.

To Leycester, via the French Ambassador, referring to about 1565 ; æt. 32 :

On your life, never be so presumptuous as to aspire to my hand.

To Leycester, because he supported Pembroke in a demand that she appoint a successor :

You, my lord ! You ! If all the world forsook me I thought that you would be true ! [Leycester replied that he would die at her feet, to which she answered :] What has that to do with it ?

To Leycester, who had threatened with dismissal one of the Queen's attendants because he had carried out against one of Leycester's men an order of hers which was obnoxious to the Earl. The offending man confronted Leycester before the Queen and asked her, " Who is to rule ; Leycester or Your Majesty ? " :

God's death, my lord ! I have wished you well, but my favour is not so locked up in you that others shall not participate thereof, for I have many servants, unto whom I have conferred and will, at my pleasure, confer my favour, and likewise reassume the same ; and if you think to rule here, I will take a course to see you forthcoming. I will have here but one mistress and no master, and look that no ill happen to him, lest it be severely required at your hands.¹

To Leycester, who had presumed again :

If by my favour you have become insolent, you will

¹ *Fragmenta Regalia.*

soon reform ; I shall pull you down just as I raised you in the beginning.¹

To her Council, when somebody had told her that Leycester was endeavouring to marry one of his step-daughters to James of Scotland. Elizabeth never forgave Leycester's second wife for marrying him :

I would rather see James stripped of his crown than wedded to that she-wolf's cub. If there is no other way to check the pride of her and the traitor Leycester I will publish her crime and her husband's horns to the whole world.

To Leycester, upon his accepting the sovereignty of the Netherlands against her orders :

How contemptuously you have carried yourself towards us you should understand by this messenger, whom we send to you for that purpose. We little thought that one, whom we had raised out of the dust, and prosecuted with such singular favour, above all others, would, with so great contempt, have slighted and broken our commands in a matter of so great consequence, and so highly concerning us and our honour. Whereof, though you have but small regard, contrary to what you ought, by your allegiance, yet, think not that we are so careless of repairing it, that we can bury so great an injury in silence and oblivion. We, therefore, command you, that, all excuse set apart, you do, forthwith, upon your allegiance, which you

¹ Translation from Italian original at Venice of the report of Giacomo Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France. Cf. *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, No. 359, Feb. 19, 1566.

owe to us, whatsoever Heneage, our Vice-chamberlain, shall make known to you in our name, upon pain of further peril.¹

To her Court, speaking of Leycester in the same matter :

I will have no more Courts under my obeisance but my own and I will revoke him from thence with all speed.

To the Court, of Leycester, in the same affair :

I will let the upstart know how easily the hand which has exalted him can beat him down to the dust.

To Leycester in the Netherlands, in the same incident :

You will make an open and public resignation in the place where you accepted the same absolute government.

To Leycester, still in the same quarrel :

It is always thought in the opinion of the world a hard bargain when both parties are losers ; and so doth fall out in the case between us two. You as we hear are greatly grieved in respect of the great displeasur you find we have conceived against you, and we no less grieved that a subject of ours, of what qualitie that you are, a Creature of our own, and one that hath always received an extraordinary portion of our favour above all our subjects even from the

¹ Cotton MS., Galba, c. viii. fol. 29 *b*, Brit. Mus.

beginning of our reign, should deale so carelessly, we will not saye contemptuously, as to give the world just cause to think that we are had in contempt by him that ought most to respect and reverence us, from whom we could never have looked to receive any such measure, which we do assure you hath wrought as great grief in us as any one thing that ever happened unto us.¹

To Leycester, after she had upbraided him further in the same affair :

But for that your grieved and wounded mynd hath more nede of comfort then reproof, whom we are persuaded, though the act in respect of the contempt canne no ways be excused, had no other meaning and intent then to advance our service, we thinke mete to forbear.²

To Heneage, who a fortnight before had communicated to the States-General the Queen's ferocious condemnation of Leycester :

Forasmuch as you have already yielded the one part of the scorpion which is to wound, we think that we should do you wrong if you should not deliver some matter of contentment, whereby you may cure. . . . You shall use all the persuasions you may to remove any opinion that may be conceived by the council of state [the governing body of the Netherlands before which but a little earlier Leycester by her command had appeared and renounced his governor-general-

¹ Cotton MS., Galba, c. ix. fol. 167, Brit. Mus.

² *Idem.*

ship] to the hinderance or prejudice of our cousin the Earl's former reputation. . . . Assure them that they can no way better show the good-will they bear towards us than by continuing their former devotion towards the Earl, of whose love and devotion towards us, you may well tell them, we make that account as of no other subject more.¹

To the States-General of the Netherlands three weeks after she had compelled Leycester to renounce their governorship :

As touching the Earl, all the world knoweth that he is one of our own raising, and we do acknowledge that no man can carry more love than he hath ever shewed to bear towards us. And touching the cause of this our present offence, we do acknowledge our persuasion that the same proceeded of no evil meaning towards us, though good intents many times bring forth dangerous and evil fruits. If the offence had not grown out of a public and open action, none would have been more ready to have hidden the same than ourselves. Therefore we pray you to think that this mislike of ours hath grown rather out of grief, in respect of the love we bear him, than out of indignation, as one of whom we have conceived a sinister opinion, whom we do esteem as greatly devoted towards us as ever subject was to prince ; and so we hope you will use him, without either diminishing any part of that good-will and love that you have hitherto professed

¹ P.R.O. MS., April 1-11, 1586.

towards him, or leaving that respect that is due unto him as our minister, or that he may justly challenge at your hands, who, for your sakes, is content to expose both his life and fortune unto any peril, which is not the least cause why we esteem so greatly of him.¹

¹ P.R.O. MS., March 30–April 9, 1586.

XVIII

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

To Mary Queen of Scots, upon hearing of the massacre of Protestants in France :

Whilst the ravens croaked I kept my ears stopped, like Ulysses, but when my counsellors thought me too improvident I woke from my slumbers.¹

To Mary, after learning of cruelties by the French Catholics :

What drug of rhubarb will rid me of the choler that these tyrannies have engendered ?

To Mary, who had ordered Randolph, Elizabeth's Ambassador in Edinburgh, to be dismissed :

The like dealing has not been heard of in Christendom between princes. I mean in like manner to return your envoy. If you will not take the Earl of Murray and his to your favour, you cannot but see him [Melville] relieved in my own realm. If you direct your ministers on the Borders to persist in refusal to do justice, I shall be found to do the like.²

To Mary :

Unless you marry as I desire, you will probably

¹ *Cal. S.P. Foreign*, No. 846, p. 367, Oct. 15, 1562.

² *Cf. Cal. S.P. For. Ser.*, 1566-68, p. 26; March 3, 1566.

forfeit all hope of a peaceful succession to the English crown.

To Melville, the Scottish Ambassador, who had asked Elizabeth to send to Mary a ruby or Leycester's picture, both of which she had just shown to him :

If Queen Mary will follow my counsel she will get them both in time, and all I have.¹

To the Scottish Ambassador :

If the Queen of Scotland will be guided by me and wishes to marry safely and happily, I will give her a husband who will ensure both ; and this is Lord Robert [Leycester] on whom God has bestowed so many charms that if I were myself to marry I would prefer him to all the princes in the world.²

To her Commissioners, who were to offer to appoint Mary as her successor if she would marry Leycester :

If she requires to be assured first, you may say of yourselves it may work in us some scruple to imagine that in all this friendship nothing is more minded than how to possess that which we have ; and that it is but a sorrowful song to pretend more shortness of our life than is cause.

To Bedford and Randolph, who were to try to bring about the marriage of Mary with Leycester :

Among all English noblemen I can see none for my own contentation meeter for the purpose than one who for his good gifts I esteem fit to be placed in the number

¹ Sir James Melville, *Memoirs*.

² Simancas document : de Quadra to Philip II., March 28, 1563.

of kings and princes ; for I think him worthy ; and if he were not born my subject, but had happened with these qualities to be as nobly born under some other prince as he was under myself, the world would have well perceived my estimation of him. The advantage of the marriage to the Earl of Leycester would not be great, but to the Queen of Scots it would be greater than she could have with any other person. The earl would bring with him no controversy of title to trouble the quietness of the Queen of Scots, and I prefer him to be the partaker of the Queen of Scots' fortune, whom, if it may lie in my power, I will make owner and heir of my own kingdom.¹

To Mary, who was urging that she be declared the heir of Elizabeth :

The right of succession to my throne shall never be made a subject of discussion ; it would cause disputes as to the validity of this or that marriage.

To another, who had advised her to nominate Mary as her successor :

I could not do so without conceiving a dislike to Mary. How is it possible for me to love anyone whose interest it is to see me dead ? ²

To Mary, still in the same affair, referring to the habit of man to worship the rising sun :

It was so in my sister's reign, and would be so again if I were ever to declare my successor.

¹ P.R.O. MS., 1564.

² Spotiswood. Cf. Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 192.

To de Foix, the French Ambassador, who was about to defend Mary for proposing to marry Darnley. The Queen was playing chess, and de Foix by way of introducing his disagreeable errand said : " This game is an image of the words and deeds of men. If, for example, we lose a pawn, it seems but a small matter ; nevertheless, the loss often draws after it that of the whole game." Elizabeth looked up long enough to reply :

I understand you ; Darnley is but a pawn ; but he may well checkmate me if he be promoted.

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador, shortly after the murder of Riccio :

Had I been in Mary's place on the night of Riccio's murder, I should have snatched her husband's dagger and stabbed him with it.¹

To her ladies, on learning of the birth of a son to Mary ;
1566 :

The Queen of Scots is lighter of a fair son, and I am but a barren stock.

To Mary, on hearing of the murder of her husband, Darnley :

Madame, my ears have been so astounded, my intelligence so grieved, and my heart so dismayed to hear the horrible news of the abominable murder of your late husband and my slain cousin, that even yet I have not the heart to write of it, and however much my nature constrains me to mourn his death, belonging so nearly to me by blood—if I am to speak boldly to

¹ Cf. *Spanish Calendar*, vol. i. pp. 520-1.

you that which I think—I cannot hide that I am more sorry for you than for him. Oh, madame, I should not fill the office of faithful cousin or affectionate friend if I studied rather to please your ears than to employ myself in saving your honour. Therefore I shall not hide from you that which the majority of people are saying of it : that you will look between your fingers at revenge for this deed and have no inclination to punish those who have given you such pleasure, as if the thing had not been committed unless the murderers had known their safety for it. For my part, believe, I beg you, that I would not wish such a thought should dwell in my heart ; for all the gold of the world I would never have so ill a guest lodge in my heart as to have so bad an opinion of any prince whatever, much less shall I have it of her to whom I wish as much good as my heart can imagine or as you yourself could ask. Wherefore, I exhort you, I counsel you, and I beg you to take this thing so much to heart that you do not fear to strike the very nearest that you have if he be implicated, and that no persuasion bar you from making an example to the world that you both are a noble princess and were a true wife. I do not write so vehemently for doubt I have of it, but for the affection I bear you in particular ; for I am not ignorant that you have wiser counsellors than I ; yet when I remember that Our Lord amongst twelve had one Judas, and assure myself that one more faithful than I there cannot be, I offer you my affection in place of their prudence . . . praying the Creator to

give you grace to recognize these traitors and to protect you from them as from ministers of Satan. . . .¹

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador :

Do you think the Queen of Scotland has been well treated to have armed men entering her chamber, as if it were that of a public woman, for the purpose of killing a man without reason ?

To Mary, on her escape from the rebels after the murder :

If you had had as much regard to honour as you had respect for a miserable villain [Bothwell], every one would have condoled with your misfortunes, as, to speak plainly, not too many have done. . . . Remember, if you please, that those who have two strings to their bow may shoot strongly but rarely straight.²

To Mary, soon after she had married Bothwell :

Madam, it hath been always held for a special principle in friendship that prosperity provideth, but adversity proveth friends ; whereof at this time finding occasion to verify the same with our actions, we have thought meet, both for our professions, and your comfort, in these few words to testify our friendship, not only by admonishing you of the worst, but also to comfort you for the best. We have understood by Robert Melville such things as you gave him in charge

¹ Translation from French original ; P.R.O., *S.P. Scotland, Elizabeth*, vol. xiii. fol. 30, Feb. 24, 1567.

² Translation from French original ; cf. *Cal. S.P. Foreign*, 1566-68, No. 2195, p. 460, May 17, 1568.

to declare on your behalf concerning your estate, and specially of as much as could be said for the allowance of your marriage. Madam, to be plain with you, our grief hath not been small, that in this your marriage so slender consideration hath been had, that as we perceive manifestly, no good friend you have in the whole world can like thereof : and if we should otherwise write or say we should abuse you ; for how could a worse choice be made for your honour, than in great haste to marry such a subject, who besides other notorious lacks, public fame hath charged with the murder of your late husband, besides the touching of yourself also in some part, though we trust in that behalf falsely ? And with what peril have you married him that hath another wife alive, whereby neither by God's law nor man's yourself can be his lawful wife, nor any children betwixt you legitimate ! Thus you see plainly what we think of the marriage, whereof we are heartily sorry that we can conceive no better, what colourable reason soever we have heard of your servant to induce us thereto. We wish, upon the death of your husband, the first care had been to have searched out and punished the murderers ; which having been done effectually—as easily might have been in a matter so notorious—there might have been many more things tolerated better in your marriage than that now can be suffered to be spoken of. And surely we cannot but for friendship to yourself, besides the natural instinct that we have of blood to your late husband, profess ourselves earnestly bent to do any-

thing in our power to procure the due punishment of that murder against any subject that you have, how dear soever you hold him ; and next thereto, to be careful how your son the prince may be preserved, for the comfort of you and your realm ; which two things we have from the beginning always taken to heart, and therein do mean to continue ; and would be very sorry but you should allow us therein, what dangerous persuasions soever be made to you for the contrary.

Now for your comfort in such adversity as we have heard you should be in—whereof we cannot tell what to think to be true—we assure you, that whatsoever we can imagine meet to be for your honour and safety that shall lie in our power, we will perform the same ; that it shall well appear you have a good neighbour, a dear sister, a faithful friend ; and so shall you undoubtedly always find us and prove us to be indeed towards you ; for which purpose we are determined to send with all speed one of our trusty servants, not only to understand your state, but also, thereupon, so to deal with your nobility and people, as they shall find you not to lack our friendship and power for the preservation of your honour and greatness.¹

To Throckmorton, her Ambassador in Scotland, after the Scottish lords had seized Mary, following the murder :

You may assure them [the Lords] that we so detest and abhor the murder committed upon our cousin their King and mislike as much as any of them the

¹ P.R.O. MS., June 23, 1567.

marriage of the Queen our sister with Bothwell. But herein we dissent from them, that we think it not lawful nor tolerable for them, being by God's ordinance subjects, to call her, who also by God's ordinance, is their Superior and Prince, to answer to their accusations by way of force ; for we do not think it consonant in nature the head should be subject to the foot.¹

To Mary, while she was still imprisoned by the rebels. Yet at this time Elizabeth would appear to be providing them with funds :

If, when at liberty, you think fit to proceed against your opponents, in such case I will not fail to assist you.²

To Burghley, to send to her Ambassador in Scotland to say to the Scottish lords who had imprisoned Mary :

As I am a prince, if they continue to keep her in prison or touch her life or person, I will not fail to revenge it to the uttermost on such as shall be any wise guilty thereof.³

To the Earl of Morton and others of his party against Mary :

You have not shown, nor can I perceive, any just cause for the manner in which you have treated your Queen.

¹ Bishop Keith's *Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 705 ; July 27, 1567.

² Translation from the original Italian MS. at Venice. Cf. *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, No. 398, Aug. 8, 1567.

³ Conway Papers, Aug. 11, 1567 ; cf. *Cal. Scottish Papers*, vol. ii.

To Catherine de' Medici with respect to the murder of Darnley and Mary's incarceration by her own subjects :

Oct. 16, 1567.

Having learned by your letter, madame, of which Monsieur Pasquier is the bearer, your honourable intention, and that of the king, my brother, on the part of my desolate cousin, the Queen of Scots, I rejoice me very much to see that one prince takes to heart the wrongs done to another, having a hatred to that metamorphosis where the head is removed to the foot and the heels hold the highest place. I promise you, madame, that even if my consanguinity did not constrain me to wish her all honour, her example would seem too terrible for neighbours to behold, and for all princes to hear. These evils often resemble the noxious influence of some baleful planet, which, commencing in one place, without the good power, might well fall in another, not that (God be thanked) I have any doubts on my part, wishing that neither the king my good brother, nor any other prince had more cause to chastise their bad subjects than I have to avenge myself on mine, which are always as faithful to me as I could desire ; notwithstanding which I never fail to condole with those princes who have cause to be angry. Even those troubles that formerly began with the king have vexed me before now. . . .¹

¹ Translation from the French original, formerly preserved in the Imperial Library at Petrograd. The precious Autograph Collection to which this belonged before the Great War was, I am credibly informed, first arranged, in the modern sense of the term, by an

To Mary, upon the murder of Darnley :

For the love of God, madame, use such sincerity and prudence in this case, which touches you so nearly, that all the world may have reason to judge you innocent of so enormous a crime—a thing, which unless you do, you will be worthily blotted out from the rank of princesses, and rendered, not undeservedly, the opprobrium of the vulgar ; rather than which fate should befall you, I should wish you an honourable sepulchre, instead of a stained life.

To Herries, Ambassador from Mary, who had asked Elizabeth what she would do if Mary could not clear herself of the murder charge :

In that case I will do my best. I will not encourage subjects in rebellion for any manner of cause. I will make arrangements which will save her honour and restore her, notwithstanding.

To Mary :

Put yourself in my hands without reserve ; I will listen to nothing which shall be said against you ; your honour shall be safe, and you shall be restored to your throne.

To Murray, the rebellious half-brother of Mary :

We hear say, that certain reports are made in sundry parts of Scotland, that whatsoever should fall out now upon the hearing of the Queen of Scot's cause,

English scholar, Mr. Atkinson, the then Emperor's librarian—c. 1845. I regret deeply my inability to discover his other names or even their initials. I hope some reader will supply them for later editions.

in any proof to convince or to acquit the said Queen concerning the horrible murder of hir late husband our cousin, we have determined to restore hir to hir kingdom and government : we do so much dislike hereof, that we cannot indure the same to receive any credit. And therefore we assure you the same is untruly devised to our dishonour : for as we have been always certified from our said sister, both by hir letters and messages, that she is by no means guilty or participant of that murder (which we wish to be true), so surely if she should be found justly to be gilty therof, as hath been reported of hir, wherof we wold be very sorry, than in dede it shuld behove us to consider otherwise of hir cause, than to satisfy hir desire in restitution of hir to the government of that Kingdome.¹

To the Countess of Lennox, who had entreated her to proceed against Mary for the murder of Darnley, who was the son of the Countess :

I cannot, without evident proof, accuse a princess and my near kinswoman of so great a crime. The times are evil and hatred blind, imputing often offences to persons of exalted rank of which they are innocent.²

To Murray, Regent of Scotland, after the flight of Mary to England, when he had refused at Elizabeth's command to allow Mary's return as Queen :

On reading your letters of 3d, brought by Alexander Hume, with his declaration in your behalf, we found

¹ *Cal. Scottish Papers*, vol. ii., Sept. 20, 1568.

² Camden.

no reasonable cause of satisfaction, the matter touching you so near that without our favour, both you and your simplest friend can well understand your perils. Plainly, our mislike is this : communicating to the whole estates (as yourself writes) our secret purposes sent you by John Wood, for excuse wherof you allege the Bishop of Ross and his servant's writings therof. . . . Your private letter by your private servant is no sufficient answer : we sent you three heads of consultation, you have propounded them so openly, two are found so dangerous that the noblemen will send no man to confer. The first you find not so, and you and they will send some thither. We see no reason why these dangers should not have been particularly advertised to us by writing, or at least by persons of known reputation and experience. Whereas now we are altogether unsatisfied with nothing but your private letter. And when you will consider, there is no cause why we should send commissioners to the Borders, the cause being properly yours, and it is for you to solicit our favours, and not to use the matter as if there was any equality between us and you. Wherefore we return this bearer your servant without delay, that you may speedily consider better of your proceedings, and as you mean to have continuance of our favour, satisfy us speedily in some more substantial and orderly manner than this, otherwise you shall occasion us, without further delay, to proceed of ourselves to such a determination with the Queen of Scots, as we shall find honourable and meet

for ourselves. And in so doing, as we perceive by your manner of dealing, you only respect yourself and no other party—we doubt how you will like it, and then though you shall afterward yield to more conformity, it may prove too late, and not recoverable by repentance. We have condescended to the two other small matters moved by your servant.¹

To Mary :

Perhaps, Madame, in receiving letters from me you expect to hear some news of your affairs, which I wish were on so good a footing that your honour should not suffer, but, not to deceive you, I do not see them so clear that there is not much to complain of. Seeing that I understand that they are so deep [*avant*] in that my heart which guides my hand does not permit me to write of them, for a suffering spirit can produce but bitter fruit and I would rather something else than my pen should give you such taste. Receive however such news of your ministers who if they do not make known to you my sincerity most manifest by my conduct in your cause they much deceive you, and injure me too much. And notwithstanding, I cannot forbear to touch upon the desire I have for you that the fine weather of fair promises and the echoes of voices which seem to honour you above all the world should not envelop you in so thick a cloud that you may not see plain day. They are not so dedicated to adoring you as they make your ministers

¹ *Cal. Scottish Papers*, vol. ii., Aug. 12, 1569.

believe. Wherefore I desire that you be not so confiding in your actions and be not blind nor think me blind. To a wise one that is enough. Understanding from your Commissioners that you have a great desire to reside at Bolton where long ago you made a stay, I will postpone the time as long as in reason I may, but being assured that that surrounding country lacks the necessary provisions suited to you and also having prepared a more honourable and more convenient place both as regards air and surrounding pastimes, I have commissioned Knolles and my Lord Scrope with other gentlemen to conduct you thither, being assured that any measures these two may take will please you, and that you have this opinion of me that I should not send you to a place from which good would not result to you, nor such that would not be fitting you should like. And with this thought I will conclude this scrawl.¹

To Mary, after she had come to England :

I assure you I will do nothing to hurt you, but rather honour and aid you.

To de Quadra, the Spanish Ambassador, who was endeavouring to learn what she would do with Mary now that she was in her power :

I am thinking of returning her to her Kingdom with the title of Queen, but without any power to govern ; and I think that her acquittal should be so arranged that it should be left in doubt ; for if her complete

¹ *Cal. S.P. Scotland, Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. iii. No. 18, Jan. 20, 1568.

innocence were to be declared it would be dangerous to this Kingdom, to my friends and to myself.¹

To the Bishop of Ross, the Scottish Ambassador :

I hope that neither the French Ambassador, nor anyone else, will think me such a fool, since the Queen of Scots is in my hands, as not to make sure, before I release her, that she shall not form a pretext for some other prince to make war on me.²

To the French Ambassador, who announced that France would not permit her to keep Mary a prisoner in England :

Her friends have given shelter to the English rebels, and with her aid and connivance they levied war on me with fire and sword. No sovereign in Europe will sit down under such a provocation, and I would count myself unworthy of realm, crown and name of queen if I endured it.

To the French Ambassador, who had asked her to make conditions upon which Mary could be released :

It is easy enough to speak of conditions ; but I must have better security than words for their fulfilment. The Bishop of Ross says that the abdication of Loch

¹ "La Reyna me dixó que lo que pensaba hacer era que volviese á su Reyno con nombre de Reyna, mas que lo que toca al gobierno no habia de tener nada, y pensaba en lo de su justificación hacer de manera que aquello quedase en dubio ; porque si se declaraba su inocencia, para las cosas deste Reyno seria peligroso, y por los amigos que tenia, y se contra ella tambien tenia sus inconvenientes."—De Silva to Philip, August 9, 1568 ; Simancas MS.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iii. p. 362, Nov. 9, 1570.

Leven went for nothing. Francis I. disowns the engagements with which he binds himself to Spain ; and even Maitland has been heard to say that promises given by one in chains may be broken. The Earl of Westmoreland is still the guest of the Hamiltons [in Scotland, to which he had escaped. He was one of Elizabeth's recent rebels].

To Fénelon, the French Ambassador, who had been urging greater liberty for Mary :

I have neither used force nor violence to the Queen of Scotland, having merely removed her to a place where she will be better treated than at Bolton, where all the necessaries of life are scarce. You may assure their Majesties of France, that the Queen of Scots receives nothing else but good treatment at my hands, and although it is not for me to render account to any person in the world for my actions, it is my wish to justify myself to all the world in respect to my usage of the Queen of Scots, that all other princes might know that I proceed with such rectitude that I have no cause to change my pale hue for anything that can be brought against me on that account. Would to God that the Queen of Scots had no more occasion to blush at that which can be known of her.¹

To Fénelon, the French Ambassador :

I have taken pains to be more than a good mother to the Queen of Scots, yet she, nevertheless, has

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. i. p. 188.

continually practised intrigues in my kingdom against me, and one who does not know how to behave to a good mother deserves a cruel stepmother.

To the leaders of her Council, who were opposing her course towards Mary :

I shall make you shorter by the head ! ¹

To some unknown person at Court ; speaking of Mary :

It seems that this woman who is my nearest relative has come into my Kingdom to set up a religion different from that which I myself profess, and to excite by these means all the ill-disposed persons who are amongst us.

To Frederick II. of Denmark :

As it is quite evident to all men in what miserable fashion and by a precedent unheard of in all former history, to posterity indeed scarcely credible, the illustrious Prince, our Kinsman, Lord Henry, late the husband of her Serenity Queen Mary, now Queen of Scotland, our dearest Sister, was cruelly murdered last year, so there are few who have any doubt, if what the common talk of almost all men constantly affirms is true, that James Earl of Bothwell, who, as we have heard, by your Serenity's command is in safe keeping in Denmark, was both author and executor of that impious crime.

This villanous action of a private citizen against his

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. ii. p. 169.

Prince, of a subject against his Lord, is manifestly execrable in deed, and intolerable in precedent, certainly to all humanity but especially to kings, whose Majesty, reason wills, and God himself orders, to be sacred ; first of all moreover and particularly to ourselves with whom that Prince was closely connected by kindred and royal blood. Wherefore, in order that other Princes may think well and rightly of us, that those who are far remote may so regard their neighbours, and that later generations may thus view those now living, it behoves us before all to take speedy and earnest pains lest a crime of such magnitude, whereby human nature has been outraged, obedience cast off, justice slighted and God himself despised, be handed down to posterity unpunished.

We ask therefore from your Serenity, for the sake of that great bond of mutual friendship which formerly existed between our Ancestors and now is firmly established between ourselves, that by the command of your Serenity the Earl of Bothwell be surrendered to those who come to your country from Scotland to demand him, that he may in his own person make answer in Scotland to those charges which can be brought against him by the law of that land. But, if your Serenity has any fear lest private violence should refuse him common justice in Scotland or any factions hinder the due course of the law in that country, we give our Royal word that we will make it our care that both in taking cognizance of, and stating the whole of, this case, not the passion of man

but the equity of Law itself, with just system and lawful custom shall prevail.¹

To Mary, just after a dangerous illness had attacked her in 1569 :

ELIZABETH QUEEN OF ENGLAND TO THE
QUEEN OF SCOTS

May 25, 1569.

MADAME,—To my infinite regret I have learned the great danger in which you have lately been, and I praise God that I heard nothing of it until the worst was past ; for, in whatever time or place it might have been, such news could have given me little content ; but if any such bad accident had befallen you in this country, I believe, really, I should have deemed my days prolonged too long, if, previous to death, I had received such a wound.

I rely much on His goodness who has always guarded me against mal-accidents, that He will not permit me to fall into such a snare, and that He will preserve me in the good report of the world till the end of my career. He has made me know, by your means, the grief I might have felt if anything ill had happened to you ; and I assure you, that I will offer up to Him infinite thanksgivings.²

To Mary, who had made claim that she could transfer to the King of France rights to the throne of England :

¹ My translation from the Latin copy, P.R.O., *For. Ser. Elizabeth*, vol. xcvi. Original is at Stockholm.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. ii. pp. 59, 60. Apparently the original letter was also in French.

Such a matter would serve as a spur to a courser of high mettle. As we often see a little bough serve to save the life of a swimmer, so a slight shadow of claim animates the combatant.¹

To Mary, with respect to the same matter :

I know not why they [the royal family of France] consider not, that the bark of your good fortune floats on a dangerous sea, where many contrary winds blow, and has need of all aid to obviate such evils, and to conduct you safely into port. And if so be they are able to serve you in aught, still you can in honour deny the intention [to transfer her rights to young Anjou] ; for if this right abides in them, then to me pertains the wrong.²

To Herries, who had asked that Mary might be permitted to return to France :

As to her going to France, I do not wish to lower myself in the eyes of my fellow sovereigns by acting imprudently. The king, her husband, when she was in that country, gave her the style and arms of my crown and my realm before I am dead. I am not anxious for a repetition of that affair. And however much I may be able to defend my own right, I will not, of my own accord, do a thing which may be turned to my hurt. I should be very sorry to have other princes think that I should be so inconsiderate.³

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. ii. pp. 59, 60, May 29, 1569.

² *Idem.*

³ Teulet, vol. ii. pp. 384, 385, June 28, 1568.

To the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, referring to Mary :

As for that Quene, you shall doo well to have regard to the keeping of hir from intelligence, as much as in yow shall be, untill yow here further from us.

To the King of France :

Those who profess friendship towards me can have no cause to allow my treatment of the Scottish Queen to be otherwise than favourable.

To Catherine de' Medici, who has been solicitous for the welfare of Mary :

I assure you of the safety of the life and honour of the Queen of Scots. I will not forget that she is a Queen, and my near relative ; nor on the other hand can I put aside the considerations which move me not to treat her with such ceremony or pomp as I may have desired and which I would rather leave to your good judgment to imagine than suffer my pen to write.

To Charles IX. of France, who has written in behalf of Mary :

She shall want for nothing that I can honourably grant. I trust that I may never change my opinion with regard to the position of Princes with their subjects.

To Fénelon, when he begged her not to make Mary's fate harder because of St. Bartholomew :

The Queen of Scots has enough sins of her own to

answer for, without ascribing to her those of other people.¹

To Beale, to say to Mary Queen of Scots :

We have delayed our answer, not for want of matter, having sufficient for our defence before God and the world, but from respect to herself though not deserved on her part, for that we could not justify ourselves without renewing the memory of horrible acts of hers which we wish were rather buried in silence than revived to her infamy. You shall let her understand that if she was as free from the guilt of those horrible acts that in the open eye of the world she has been publicly noted withal, as we with reason rest free from remorse of any extremity that we have ever offered to her, she should enjoy more peace and quietness than presently she doth. . . . And seeing she deeply charges our conscience, we think ourselves bound in conscience to let her know that if anything towards herward may justly breed in us remorse, it is the care we have had for the safety of such an one, whose preservation has since brought the ruin and overthrow of infinite numbers in both realms. All this passion has been provoked by the alterations in Scotland, to which she would have done well to have reconciled herself. The king had been led away into ill practices, as the taking the life of the Earl Morton, a worthy and well-deserving servant. Had this course been a little continued it would have brought her son to the same

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. v. p. 151, Oct. 2, 1572.

ruin which she has brought upon herself. How far forth the prosecution of those violent counsellors of the death of Morton, under pretence that he was privy to the death of her husband, might in the end reach to herself—if principals are not to be spared where accessaries come in question, her own judgment, or rather her own conscience, can best judge ; and we fear she shall feel, unless she shows some other remorse of conscience than hitherto she hath done. And whereas she wishes by way of invocation that God should “retribute” unto us at the time of His last Judgment according to our deserts and demerits one towards another, putting us also in mind that all disguisements and counterfeit policies of this world shall not then prevail, but you shall tell her, that if that severe censure should take place, it would go much more hardly with her than we (whatsoever cause she hath given us to the contrary) can in Christian charity wish her. For howsoever she is bold with men who can judge but of things outwardly, she ought to beware how she dallies with God.¹

To Fénelon, who had urged clemency for Mary :

I bear more goodwill to my own honour than hate to the Queen of Scots : and I do not wish to prejudice myself for the sake of revenge on her, of which I have already shown true signs : for, instead of harming her, I have saved her honour and her life.²

¹ *Cal. S.P. Scotland* (Boyd), vol. vi. p. 358, 1583.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iv. p. 184, July 20, 1571.

To Norris, her Ambassador in Paris, to whom she is giving instructions as to what he will say to the French King in explanation of her policy towards Mary :

And thus having as shortly as so many matters of so many years continuance could suffer, passed over no small number [just detailed] of unkind and dangerous enterprises against us ; and contrarywise, of our manifold kind and abundant benefits towards her in all her necessities, we doubt not but now, if the requests that are made to us to aid her to our power to restore her forthwith to her Realm shall be applied to the former things preceding, no indifferent person of any judgment will, or can think it in conscience reasonable to, move us to commit such a dangerous folly as to be the author ourself to hazard our own Person, our State, our quietness of our Realm and People at one instant, without further consideration how we might preserve the same, as God hath given them unto us, and not to be lost (as it were wilfully) and with contemning or neglecting of the wisdom that God hath bestowed upon us, to possess and to maintain our Crown and Dignity with public peace and quietness amongst our Subjects : And therefore, although now lately in this time of Rebellion, whereunto we well understand that she hath a party, we did cause her to be removed further into our Realm, from the parts where the Rebellion was stirred, and there forbad resort to be made unto her, as before was common for all persons, but of her own Country and ours, we see not why this our dealing in so dangerous a time

should be blamed, being assured that no Christian Prince in like case would have done less. And therein we durst appeal to the judgment of any Prince or Potentate in the world that will possess any indifferency in judgment ; yea, we dare think that even herself and her most affectionate friends cannot think us here to have dealt unreasonably.

The like might be thought also, in that we have of late restrained one whom she used as her Ambassador, being a Bishop, whom we used almost as one of our own, for her sake, upon due information that he hath been a principal motioner and nourisher of this late Rebellion, by divers means : A matter to be as much allowed for us to do, in the stay from subversion of our Realm, as were to stay and restrain one that would bring more fire to a City which he hath already set on fire. . . .

But if the King could but imagine, or the Queen-Mother for him, how some other Prince might have attempted the like dangers to his Estate and Crown, and continued the like offences towards him, where he had showed kindness, we are assured they might think it somewhat in us, if we should, after the truth declared, move the King for any particular respect of a third person to consent to that which should plainly after hazard his Estate, being our Friend ; and by some such imagination of a like cause, we think their judgments shall be best directed thereof : Sorry would we be that any like indeed should happen unto him, to inform him how to judge in our case.

When you have done this, if the King or his Mother shall object anything hereupon, as it were in excuse of the Queen of Scots, or entreating further for her, you may say in answer . . . we should be found reasonable to have regard to the King our good Brothers motions and requests that may stand with our honour and safety to accord unto, and so we trust the King meaneth not to propound any thing unto us otherwise than in good terms of friendship, whereby always they that are to make demands or requests to their friends do regard how they may stand to the safety of their friends.

To some one whose name has not been preserved :

As long as the Duke of Norfolk is alive the Queen of Scots will never want an advocate.

To Fénelon :

I am just as anxious to see Mary Stuart out of England as she can be to go !

To Mary, who had written a complaining and vindictive letter about her confinement :

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

February 1st, 1572.

MADAME,—Of late time I have received divers letters from you, to the which, you may well guess, by the accidents of the time, why I have not made any answer, but specially because I saw no matter in them that required any answer, as could have contented you ; and to have discontented you, had been but an

increase of your impatience, which I thought time would have mitigated, as it commonly doth, where the cause thereof is not truly grounded, and that it be so understood ; but now finding by your last letter, the 27th of the last [month], an increase of your impatience, tending, also, to many uncomely, passionate and vindictive speeches, I thought to change my former opinion, and, by patient and advised words, to move you to stay, or else to qualify your passions, and to consider, that it is not the manner to obtain good things with evil speeches, nor benefits with injurious challenges, nor to get good to yourself with doing evil to another.

And yet, to avoid the fault which, I note you have committed, in filling a long letter with a multitude of sharp and injurious words, I will not, by way of letter, write any more of the matter, but have rather chosen to commit to my cousin, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the things which I have thought meet, upon the reading of your letters, to be imparted unto you, as in a memorial, in writing, he hath to shew you ; wherewith I think, if reason be present with you, and passion absent at the reading, you will follow, hereafter, rather the course of the last part of your letter than the first, the latter being written as in a calm, and the former in a storm. Wishing you the same grace of God that I wish to myself, and that he may direct you to desire and attain to that which is meet for his honour, and your quietness, with contentation both of body and mind. Given at my palace of Westminster, the 1st

day of February 1571-2.—Your cousin, that wisheth you a better mind,
ELIZABETH.¹

To Fénelon :

There seems to be something sublime in the words and bearing of the Queen of Scots that constrains even her enemies to speak well of her.²

To Fénelon and du Croc, who asked her to allow Mary to proceed to France :

If His Majesty [the King of France] had had as much experience of the dangers of the world as the years that I have lived longer than him have taught me, he would not request me to deliver into another hand the only surety that God has put into mine for my own safety.³

To Fénelon, who had asked how she expected to proceed with Mary :

I doubted whether you would allow your audience to end without naming to me the Queen of Scots, whom I wish were not quite so much in your master's mind and still less in your own.

To those who were urging her to put Mary to death :

Can I put to death the bird that, to escape the pursuit of the hawk, has fled to my feet for protection ? Honour and conscience forbid !

¹ Cotton MS., Caligula, c. iii. fol. 141.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iv. p. 391, last day of Feb. 1572.

³ *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 394, March 8, 1572.

To Gondi, confidant of Catherine de' Medici ; 1578 :

I know very well that you have come to disturb my country, and to act in favour of the worst woman in the world [Mary Queen of Scots] whose head should have been cut off years ago. . . . She shall never be free as long as I live, even though it cost me my realm and my liberty.¹

To Mary :

You will think the writer has drank of the water of Lethe, but there is no such river in England.

To the Spanish Ambassador, on his petition for the release of Mary :

I would advise the Queen of Scots to bear her condition with less impatience, or she may chance to find some of those on whom she relies shorter by the head.²

To Mary, who had been inciting rebellion in England :

These be the bypaths which those follow who fear the open road. I say not this for any dread I feel of harm that you may do me. My trust is in Him who governs all things by His justice, and with this faith I know no alarm.

¹ "Esta Reyna dió audiencia á Gondi á quien no recibió con tantas ceremonias como se acostumbra á los embajadores. Dixóle con voz alta en la sala de audiencia que bien sabia que venia á inquietarle su reyno y hacer officios por la mas mala muger del mundo, y que merecia tener cortada la cabeça muchos años ha : á que le replicó el Gondi que la de Escocia era Reyna como ella y parienta suya y que estaba presa, á cuya causa no se espantase que tratasen de sus negocios. Respondióle con colera que en toda su vida no se vería libre aunque á ella le costase la suya y la perdida de su reyno."—Mendoza á su Magd., 5 de Mayo, 1578. Simancas MS.

² Camden, 1569.

To Mary :

I am informed that open rebels against my authority are receiving countenance and favour from yourself and your counsellors. . . . Remove these briars, I pray you, lest some thorn prick your heel. Such matters hurt to the quick. It is not by such ways as these that you will attain the object of your wishes.

To Mary, who had been harbouring English enemies of Elizabeth :

The stone often recoils on the head of the thrower.

To various persons in her chamber, referring to the King of Scotland and to Lennox :

Although both of them have protested this [that the King did not wish to change the religion in which he had been brought up and would never become a Catholic] I know well that a Scotsman has secretly confessed that the King of Spain and the Pope have intelligence in Scotland, and that the Queen of Scotland has written to the Pope, asking him not to be angry at the dissembling of her son and the Duke of Lennox, as that was the course which was most likely to attain the end aimed at. But notwithstanding this, I shall oppose, much more cunningly than they think, the carrying out of their designs.¹

To Mary, because she had been nursing trouble for Elizabeth in England :

Your actions toward me are as full of venom as your words of honey.

¹ Simancas MS., 1582.

To Mary, for assisting enemies of Elizabeth :

If you are amusing yourself at my expense, do not think so poorly of me that I will suffer such wrong without avenging it. Remember, my dear sister, that if you desire my affection you must learn to deserve it.

To the Scottish Ambassador :

No human power will ever persuade me to sign the warrant for Mary's execution.¹

To the French Ambassador, who had been especially sent to urge leniency to Mary :

I am very sorry that you have not been sent upon a better occasion. I have been compelled to come to the resolution I have taken, because it is impossible to save my own life if I preserve that of the Queen of Scots ; but if you ambassadors can point out any means whereby I may do it, consistently with my own security, I shall be greatly obliged to you, never having shed so many tears at the death of my father, of my brother King Edward, or my sister Mary, as I have done for this unfortunate affair.²

To the French Ambassadors, who were urging her to save Mary :

Wherefore is it, that having signed a league, which I observe, does not he [the King of France] observe it also in a case which is so important to all princes ? If any of my subjects—nay, those that are nearest of

¹ Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 480.

² Bellièvre to the King of France, Dec. 1586. Cf. Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 471.

kin—had enterprised things to the prejudice of his Majesty's life, I would have sent him to his Majesty for punishment.¹

To a person now unknown :

If Elizabeth is to live Mary must die.

To Mary, when she refused to acknowledge the right of an English tribunal to try a Scottish Queen :

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

You have, in various ways and manners, attempted to take my life, and to bring my kingdom to destruction by bloodshed. I have never proceeded so harshly against you, but have, on the contrary, protected and maintained you like myself. These treasons will be proved to you, and all made manifest.

Yet it is my will that you answer the nobles and peers of the kingdom as if I were myself present. I, therefore, require, charge, and command, that you make answer, for I have been well informed of your arrogance.

Act plainly, without reserve, and you will sooner be able to obtain favour of me.

ELIZABETH.

To the French Ambassadors, who were urging her in the name of their King to save Mary from execution :

I gave you several days to consider some means by which I could without being in danger of losing my own life preserve hers ; and having heard nothing

¹ Translation from French original, Paris ; *Bibl. du Roi*, No. 9513, tome iii. fol. 399.

from you on that point, and I not having found any other expedient, I am not at liberty to be cruel against myself, and his Majesty should not consider it just that I who am innocent should die and that the Queen of Scots who is guilty should be saved.¹

To the deputation of Parliament, urging her to carry out the sentence of death on Mary :

So many and so great are the bottomless graces and immeasurable benefits bestowed upon me by the Almighty, that I must not only most humbly acknowledge them as benefits, but admire them as miracles, being in no sort able to express them. And though there liveth not any that may more justly acknowledge himself bound to God than I, whose life he hath miraculously preserved from so many dangers, yet am I not more deeply bound to give him thanks for any one thing, than for this which I will now tell you, and which I account as a miracle, namely that as I came to the Crown with the most hearty goodwill of all my subjects : so now after 28 years reign I perceive in them the same, if not greater, good will towards me : which if I once lose, well might I breathe, but never think I lived. And now though my life hath been dangerously shot at, yet I protest there is nothing hath more grieved me, than that one not differing from me in sex, of like rank and degree, of the same stock, and most nearly allied unto me in blood, hath

¹ Translation from French original ; Report for M. de Villeroy of Bellièvre's mission in England : Audience of Dec. 7, 1586.

fallen into so great a crime. And so far have I been from bearing her any ill will, that upon the discovery of certain treasonable practices against me, I wrote unto her secretly that if she would confess them by a private letter unto myself, they should be wrapped up in silence. Neither did I write thus in mind to intrap her, for I knew then as much as she could confess. And even yet, though the matter be come thus far, if she would truly repent, and no man would undertake her cause against me, and if my life alone depended hereupon, and not the safety and welfare of my whole people, I would (I protest unfeinedly) most willingly pardon her. Nay if England might by my death attain a more flourishing Estate and a better Prince, I would most gladly lay down my life. For, for your sakes it is, and for my peoples that I desire to live. As for me, I see no such great cause why I should either be fond to live, or fear to die. I have had good experience of this world, and I know what it is to be a subject and what to be a Sovereign. Good neighbours I have had, and I have met with bad : and in trust I have found treason. I have bestowed benefits upon ill deservers, and where I have done well, have been ill requited. While I call to mind these things past, behold things present, and expect things to come, I hold them happiest that go hence soonest. Nevertheless against such mischiefs as these I put on a better courage than is common to my sex, so as whatsoever befall me, death shall not take me unprepared. And as touching these treasons, I will

not so prejudicate myself, or the laws of my Kingdom, as not to think but that she having been the contriver of the same treasons, was bound and liable to the ancient laws though the late act had never been made ; which notwithstanding has no ways been made to prejudice her. So far was it from being made to intrap her, that it was rather intended to forwarn her and terrify her from attempting anything against it. But seeing that it was now in force of a law, I thought good to proceed against her according to the same. But you lawyers are so curious in scanning the nice points of the law, and following of precedents and form, rather than expounding the laws themselves, that by exact observing of your form she must have been indited in Staffordshire, and have holden up her hand at the Barre, and have been tried by a jury of 12 men. A proper course forsooth of trial against a Princess. To avoid therefore such absurdities, I thought it better to refer the examination of so weighty a cause to a good number of the noblest personages of the land, and the Judges of the realm : and all little enough. For we Princes are set as it were upon stages, in the sight and view of all the world. The least spot is soon spied in our garments, a blemish quickly noted in our doings. It behoveth us therefore to be careful that our proceedings be just and honourable. But I must tell you one thing, that by this last Act of Parliament you have brought me to a narrow straight, that I must give order for her death which is a Princess most nearly allied unto me in blood, and whose practices

against me have stricken me into so great grief, that I have been glad to absent myself from this Parliament, lest I should increase my sorrow by hearing it spoken of, and not out of fear of any danger—as some think. But yet I will now tell you a secret (though it is well known that I have the property to keep counsaile). It is not long since these eyes of mine saw and read an oath, wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a month. Hereby, I see your danger in me which I will be very careful to avoid. Your Association for my safety I have not forgotten, which I never so much as thought of till a great number of bonds with many obligations were shewed me : which as I do acknowledge as a strong argument of your true hearts and great zeal to my safety, so shall my bond be stronger tied to a greater care for your good. But forasmuch as this matter now in hand is very rare and of greatest consequence, I hope you do not look for any present resolution : for my manner is, in matters of less moment than this, to deliberate long upon that which is once to be resolved. In the mean time I beseech Almighty God to illuminate my mind that I may foresee that which may serve for the good of his Church, the prosperity of the Commonwealth and your safety. And that delay may not breed danger, we will signify our resolution with all conveniency. And what ever the best subjects may expect at the hands of the best Princess, that expect from me to be performed to the full.¹

¹ Camden, p. 98, 1586.

To Leycester, who had explained to her that the Scots were proposing that Mary would demit her right of the English succession to her son :

Is it so ? Get rid of one and have a worse in her place ? Nay, then, I put myself in a worse place than before. By God's passion ! that were to cut my own throat ! and for a duchy or earldom to yourself, you, or such as you, would cause some of your desperate knaves to kill me. No, by God ! He [that is, James, Mary's son] shall never be in that place. [An Ambassador present pleaded that Mary be spared for fifteen days for negotiations to continue. His companion in the request, when Elizabeth refused that period, asked for only eight days' delay. But Elizabeth left the room with :] No, not for an hour !¹

To the French Ambassador, who had offered to give her two sons of the blood royal of France as hostages for her security if she would release Mary :

Such hostages will be of little help to me after I have lost my life, which I am sure will be the case if the Queen of Scots be allowed to live.²

To the same Ambassador, de Bellièvre, who had come to ask for leniency for Mary :

I have so much confidence in the kindness of the King, my good brother, that I am persuaded that, after learning and knowing everything that has happened, he will not take in bad part my proceedings

¹ Gray's Memorial, Jan. 12, 1586-87.

² Camden ; Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 484.

against her who so many times has conspired against my person and State. [I] am very sorry that such a person as yourself, Monsieur de Bellièvre, has taken it upon yourself to leave your kingdom for an affair in which there can be no credit, after having had the knowledge of things for which you have been commended. But in this, where the matter is so clear that each one can judge of my innocence, I call God to witness if ever I have had a desire to [do anything] that could cause discontent. Every one knows how much she has offended me—I who have borne it patiently. One ought to acknowledge how precious the royal dignity is and the rank I hold ; being my inferior when she came into my Kingdom, I showed her kindness in everything, which nevertheless did not divert her malevolence from me. Nothing, not even the afflictions and sorrows that I have received—the death of the King my father, of the King my brother, and the Queen my sister—has touched me so nearly as the subject of which we are treating now. I call God to witness if I have ever used measures against her such as she has employed against me, and stake on it my salvation or damnation. I have seen many stories and read [I believe] as much as any prince or princess in Christendom, and I have never known anything similar to this. I have a vivid remembrance of what you have said, and all that you have alleged against me, but that cannot induce me to change my mind. I well know that the blood of princes is precious ; but to place the inferior above the superior cannot appear

to me to be right. At present I stand in no security in my Kingdom, being hemmed in upon all sides. I am not free, but a captive. My desire is that everything shall be done wisely and with discretion, without rousing against me on all sides so many enemies. I trust that God will keep and preserve me and will give me grace to maintain my people in peace, as I desire that all Christian princes be kept and preserved from their enemies ; and for myself (who am but a poor woman) that I may be able to withstand so many enemies and so many pitfalls.¹

To Bellièvre, French special Ambassador, sent to save Mary :

The wickedness of the Queen of Scotland is unwonted, and unwonted should be the example offered to the world as a warning to live well ; on this point I have been admirably advised by my Councillors that the King has no reason to complain, for sound justice is being done and as that is pleasing to God it ought to be pleasing to the King, for this justice is being done on a bad woman, protected by bad men, enemies of his Majesty and of the peace of France. It is absolutely necessary for Mary to die if Elizabeth is to live, or for Elizabeth to die if Mary is to live. On every occasion I have shown how great is the love I bear to the King, and now on this occasion as well I will give another proof by suspending execu-

¹ Translation from the original French MS. Published by Teulet, *Relations Polit.*, vol. iv. p. 129, 1586; exact day uncertain, but apparently between Nov. 28 and Dec. 13.

tion for fifteen days, and thus will demonstrate to the King how just my claim and my resolve is.¹

To the French King, after he had told her that if she were to execute Mary he could not but resent it deeply as an act against the common interest of all sovereigns, and to him in particular highly offensive :

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO HENRY III. OF FRANCE

SIR, MY GOOD BROTHER,—The old ground, on which I have often based my letters, appears to me so changed at present, that I am compelled to alter the style, and instead of returning thanks, to use complaints. My God !—How could you be so unreasonable as to reproach the injured party, and to compass the death of an innocent one, by allowing her to become the prey of a murderess ? But, without reference to my rank, which is nowise inferior to your own, or of my friendship to you, most sincere—for I have well nigh forfeited all reputation among the princes of my own religion, by neglecting them, in order to prevent disturbances in your dominions ; exposed to dangers, such as scarcely any prince ever was before, expecting,

¹ Translation from the Italian MS., Venetian archives ; cf. *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, vol. viii. No. 445, Jan. 2, 1587 : “ *Ripose ella, che sendo insolita l'iniquità della Regina di Scotia, era ben conveniente con insolita dimostratione dar esempio al mondo del modo che si deve tener a viver bene, che per questo era stata ottimamente consigliata da suoi ; et che manco se ne doveva dolere il Re poiche veniva eseguita una buona giustitia, la quale sendo tanto cara a Dio deve esser parimente cara a Sua Maestà, perche è esercitata verso una Donna cattiva protetta da huomini cattiva et inimici particolari di Sua Maestà, et di tutta la quiete di Franza ; soggiungendo che bisognava al tutto o che fosse fatta morir Maria perche vivesse Elisabet, o che Elisabet si contentasse di morire perche vivesse Maria.*”

at least, some ostensible reasons and offers for security against the daily danger, for the epilogue of this whole negotiation—you are, in spite of all this, so blinded by the words of those, who, I pray, may not ruin you, that, instead of a thousand thanks, which I had merited for such singular services, Monsieur de Bellièvre has addressed language to my ears, which, in truth, I know not well how to interpret. For, that you should be angry at my saving my own life, seems to me the threat of an enemy, which, I assure you, will never put me in fear, but is the shortest way to make me despatch the cause of so much mischief. Let me, I pray you, understand in what sense I am to take these words ? for I will not live an hour to endure that any prince whatsoever should boast that he had humbled me into drinking such a cup as that. Monsieur de Bellièvre has, indeed, somewhat softened his language by adding that you in nowise wish any danger to accrue to me, and still less to cause me any. I, therefore, write you these few words, and if it please you to act accordingly, you shall never find a truer friend ; but, if otherwise, I neither am in so low a place, nor govern realms so inconsiderable, that I should, in right and honour, yield to any living prince that would injure me ; and I doubt not, by the grace of God, to make my cause good, for my own security.

I beseech you to think rather of the means of maintaining, than of diminishing, my friendship. Your realm, my good brother, cannot abide many enemies. Give not the rein, in God's name, to wild horses, lest

they should shake you from your saddle. I say this to you, out of a true and upright heart, and implore the Creator to grant you long and happy life.

ELIZABETH.

To the French Ambassador, after the discovery of the Babington conspiracy, which convinced Elizabeth that if she herself were to live Mary must be executed :

Well, what do you think of your Queen of Scotland ? With black ingratitude and treachery she tries to kill me who so often saved her life. Now I am certain of her evil intent, and it may be she will not have another opportunity to behave like this.

To herself, muttering as she was endeavouring to come to a decision about the execution of Mary :

Aut fere, aut feri !—Ne feriare feri ! [Bear or strike !—Strike that you be not struck !]

To herself, when confronted with the necessity of executing Mary :

Among the thousands who profess to be attached to me as a sovereign, not one will spare me the painful task of dipping my hands in the blood of a sister queen.¹

To Davison, when signing the warrant for the execution of Mary :

[I have deferred this execution] for my honour's sake that the world may see that I have not been violently or maliciously drawn thereto.²

¹ Lingard.

² Nicolas, *Life of Davison*.

To Davison, complaining of Paulet and others who had refused to comply with Elizabeth's request that they assassinate Mary in order that thus Elizabeth might escape issuing the order for the legal execution. Paulet and his friends well knew that their acquiescence would mean their own deaths, for they would be immediately disavowed and beheaded for murder, to save Elizabeth's reputation. They must have known many precedents in history to warn them :

The daintiness and perjury of Paulet and the others who, contrary to their oath of association [referring to the Association formed by Leicester to preserve her life and pursue to death those who sought her life] do cast the burden upon myself!—the niceness of these precise fellows who, in words, would do great things for my surety, but, indeed, perform nothing.¹

To Davison, after she had signed the warrant for the execution of Mary, and he saw that she was still urging that Mary be privately killed so as to save her own name. He asked her what this all meant : " Have you not a full and resolute meaning to go through with the execution, according to the warrant ? " She replied :

Yes—only I think it might have received a better form because this throws all the responsibility on myself. [He replied that any other way of disposing of Mary was contrary to all the law of England. But she at once said :] ' There are wiser men than you in the kingdom of other opinion.'²

¹ Nicolas, *Life of Davison*, Appendix, pp. 277-278.

² *Idem*, Appendix, p. 276.

To Keith, the Ambassador of the King of Scotland, James, the son of Mary, who had sent this diplomat to try to save his mother's life :

I swear by the living God that I would give one of my own arms to be cut off so that any means could be found for us both to live in assurance.¹

To the French Ambassador, after the execution of Mary :

I have experienced one of the greatest misfortunes and vexations that has ever befallen me, which was the death of my cousin-german ; of which I am innocent. I did indeed sign the warrant ; but it was only to satisfy my subjects, as I never intended to put her to death, except in case of a foreign invasion, or a formidable insurrection of my own subjects. The members of my council have played me a trick which I can never forgive, and by God ! but for their long services, and for the supposition that they acted out of consideration for the welfare and safety of my person and my state, every one of them would lose his head !

To the French Ambassador, after the imprisonment in the Tower of Secretary Davison for obeying her orders—which she now denied—to carry out the execution of Mary :

I beg you not to believe that I would be so wicked as to throw the blame on an humble secretary [for the execution] if it were not true.

¹ Sir George Warrender's MS., cited by Tytler, *History of Scotland*, vol. viii. Cf. Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 480.

To the French Ambassador, after the execution of Mary :

This death will wring my heart as long as I live.

To Roger, an attaché of the French Embassy, on the day after she had committed Davison to the Tower to throw the blame on him for her execution of Mary :

I am deeply afflicted by the death of the Queen of Scotland whom it was never my intention to put to death. . . . Davison took me by surprise, but he is now in a place where he will have to answer for it, and you will tell his Majesty of France so. [Elizabeth never relented and ruined Davison after a long imprisonment.]¹

To Frederick II. of Denmark ; a Latin letter never before printed in English, and only printed at all and then only most imperfectly by Treschow (in the original) and by a Danish magazine in 1823 :

Most serene Prince and dearest Brother, Whereas we suspect that the report of the death of the Scottish Queen will be spread by the noble bearer of this letter, or even before he happens to enter the kingdom of Denmark, we have judged that the way in which it was brought about must be truly and faithfully revealed to your Serenity. We do not doubt that your Serenity has heard in what great and criminal plots for our death and the overthrow of our state that Queen has been, not once but repeatedly, detected. And this has been most evidently proved by many letters of the Queen herself, by the confession of her

¹ Translation ; Dispatch of l'Aubespine to Henry III., Feb. 1587.

secretaries, and by the witness of many who conspired for our death at her bidding. And on those conspirators the laws inflicted due penalties, after they confessed, immediately after their arrest and also torture, the whole of those plottings.

Now the Queen, as day by day she laid snares against our life, was condemned to death by just sentence, on the authority of the three estates called Parliament, who often wearied us with their repeated prayers that we should rather abandon her to the death she merited than perpetually as long as she lived contend for our life with her emissaries, and at the same time too showed us clearly that no human skill could find a way by which we could be in safety whilst she was safe ; Yet on account of our connexion by blood, we could never bear to surrender her to punishment, but at the request of our close friends we merely signed an order that that punishment should be inflicted only in the case of some rising or insurrection being stirred up on behalf of that Queen for our destruction. This order we gave into the keeping of a certain secretary of ours, solemnly charging him not to betray its contents to any one, nor to do anything in that matter without consulting us first. And he forthwith disregarding these instructions (after consultation with some of our counsellors), with headlong haste, unknown to us, sent the order for execution, and they now excuse themselves on the ground of their fear that by our excessive clemency we should hasten our own ruin.

Thus, without our will, by the rash action of this secretary, that Queen (although it cannot be denied, full of guilt) when we, God be witness, suspected nothing of the sort, was put to death. The secretary, however, we have thrown into the Tower for his manifest contempt of our instructions that he may render to us an exact account of his unexpected deed.

It has been our wish to declare this openly to your Serenity in this letter, not because we fear that the execution of this Queen, which we had every right to carry out and should certainly have done so had we merely had regard to our own peril, be imputed to us, but that you may understand the course of these events in truth and sincerity, as our sisterly spirit prompts us, and that nothing more grievous than this single deed has befallen us in life.¹

To James VI. of Scotland, the young son (he was then twenty) of Mary, just after her execution :

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO KING JAMES VI.

February 14, 1587.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I would you know (though not felt) the extreme dolour that overwhelms my mind for that *miserable accident*, which, far contrary to my meaning, hath befallen. I have now sent this kinsman of mine, whom, ere now, it hath pleased you to favour, to instruct you truly of that, which is irksome for my pen to tell you.

¹ My translation from the Latin original at Stockholm. The Latin is reproduced in Appendix II. of the 1884 Rep. of the D.K. of the P.R.O., on p. 28 of No. 1 : March 23, 1587.

I beseech you—that as God and many *moe* know how innocent I am in this case—so you will believe me, that if I had bid aught, I would have abided by it. I am not so base-minded, that the fear of any living creature, or prince, should make me afraid to do that were just, or, when done, to deny the same. I am not of so base a lineage, nor carry so vile a mind. But as to disguise fits not the mind of a king, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cause them to shew even as I meant them. Thus assuring yourself of me, that as I know this was deserved, yet, if I had meant it, I would never lay it on others' shoulders ; no more will I *not* damnify myself that thought it not.

The circumstances it may please you to *have* (learn) of this bearer [Robert Carey]. And for your part, think not you have in the world a more loving kinswoman, nor a more dear friend than myself, nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve you and your state. And who shall otherwise persuade you, judge them more partial to others than to you. And thus, in haste, I leave to trouble you, beseeching God to send you a long reign.—Your most assured, loving sister and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

XIX

FRANCE

To Stafford, communicating her fear of being dragged into wars in the Netherlands through Alençon :

We willingly will not repose our whole trust so far on the French nation as we will give them in pawn all our fortune and afterwards stand to their discretion. I hope I shall not live to see that hour.¹

To the Spanish Ambassador ; 1559, æt. 25 :

The King of France is bursting with rage, and I do not want to make him burst any more.

To the Grand Prior of France :

Ah, *mon Prieur*, I love you much ; but I hate that brother Guise of yours, who tore from me my town of Calais.

To Walsingham, her Ambassador in Paris, to say to the French King :

We would have you be in earnest with him [the French King] in that matter of *Strozzi*, praying him frankly and roundly, what he meaneth with that great Army of Ships and men of War, which hath been kept a long time close and undiscovered, to what

¹ Letter to Sir Edward Stafford, Aug. 1581.

intent, or to what place it should be bent : You may say we have the more desire to know his meaning and dealing herein, because that of late they of *Strozgies* Company there have spoiled divers of our Merchants, some of their Artillery and Victuals, other of their goods and Merchandises, as was accustomed betwixt the two Realms in time past, the which kind of dealing is very contrary to the amity . . . wherefore as we do go roundly and plainly to work with him, to show flatly that which we do think or doubt hereupon, so we pray him with the same flatness and roundness to deal with us, for that is the way to make continuance of amity, and also increase, and may induce us the sooner to come to a further resolution of such things as be required of us.¹

To Catherine de' Medici :

You are a wise woman, so I say no more, except that if the dead were living they would not permit such an injury.

To Catherine de' Medici :

I expected that the King would muzzle these babblers, considering what is due to his position and not what pleases them.

To Fénelon, when he presented a letter from his master urging her to be lenient towards the Scottish Bishop, Ross, who had been caught in a conspiracy against her in favour of Mary Queen of Scots :

I cannot take it in good part that the King of France

¹ 1572.

should have written to me in this fashion, for the bishop has been plotting against me and introducing foreigners into my realm who are to be joined, I find, by some of my own subjects ; there is a conspiracy to declare me illegitimate, and to place the Queen of Scots on my throne ; for which, as he had violated the character of an ambassador, I imprisoned him. I wish to know to whom the Bishop of Ross has written two letters, marked 40 and 30, since the Spanish ambassador and the Queen of Scots have affirmed that it is not to them. The King of France, who is implicated in the confederacy against me, wishes, I suppose, to exemplify the truth of this saying of Machiavelli—"The friendship of princes does not go beyond their convenience."¹

To Catherine de' Medici :

Ask yourself if I am of so little account in my country that not one amongst all of my subjects will be found to avenge me.

To Fénelon, the French Ambassador, when his master was faced with rebellion :

I pray God that I may hear better news of his Majesty's affairs than that which has been told me within the last two days, which makes me regret that his Majesty despised my counsel, although it was but that of a woman.²

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iv. p. 145.

² *Idem.*

To the French envoys, who brought for her signature a treaty for a perpetual alliance between the two countries :

May God witness my punishment, if in my heart He sees not a true intention of bringing forth the fruits of this concord through appropriate deeds ; for words are no better than leaves !¹

To the French Ambassador. Henry IV. was then in a desperate fight for his throne. How desperate was his situation would only appear in the reports of the French ambassadors in London, but these precious documents have been destroyed, probably contemporaneously, to efface the great dependence which Henry the Great was forced to place upon Elizabeth. Evidently the French monarch was here appealing for further aid :

Tell His Majesty that there is no other creature in the world who bears him so much affection and so desires his welfare and prosperity as I do. But I beg him to consider in what estate I am. As for myself, I am an old and powerless woman. I have affairs of great and diverse character, a people who, although making a great show of loving me, are nevertheless frivolous and inconstant, and I have everything to bear ; that in the last session [of Parliament] they had constantly complained that the treasures of England and their own were sent out of the Kingdom to Flanders and France ; that Englishmen were sent to die outside their own country, whereas they should remain at home for its defence ; and that within the last three or four years more than 20,000 had died in foreign

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper.

lands : ' Whatever follies kings commit, the Greeks are punished,' and that therefore I am not without great sorrow.

To the French Ambassador, with regard to conspirators against his King. This was subsequent to her execution of Essex :

I have no doubt His Majesty, being accustomed to these conspiracies, and being a man whose soul is always more inclined to pardon and forget injuries, suffers greatly in deciding to punish de Biron, whom he always loved and honoured ; but I have proven too well how strong is this suffering, which I shall regret all my life ; but for the welfare of my State, the example and security of my successors, I have not wished to pardon ; I have found this course successful, and I am convinced that His Majesty by following the same rule will establish similar peace.

To Fénelon, when he came to announce the birth of a princess to the King and Queen of France, which event had taken place the very day that the father, his mother, his brothers and the King of Navarre had gone by torch-light to witness the execution of two political opponents :

I regret that the princess's royal father should have polluted the day of her birth by so sad a spectacle as that which his Majesty had gone to see in the Grève.¹

To Fénelon, after St. Bartholomew :

The picture of the state of France as it is represented

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. v. pp. 205-206, 1572.

to be by you, fills me with extreme horror, for it seems as if everything is being done against those of my religion. As for the condemnation of the admiral and the others [for treason]—if their ruin meant the safety of the King of France, no one could be more glad than I am that they are dead.¹

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. v. pp. 205-206, 1572.

XX

SPAIN

To the Spanish Ambassador ; 1559, æt. 26 :

I yearn to be a nun, and to pass my days in prayer in a cell. [The comment of de Quadra to his government as to this is that it is “ a pretty business to treat with this woman who, I think, must have an hundred thousand devils in her body in spite of her forever telling me ” the above.]

To the Spanish Ambassador, when he had threatened her with ruin ; 1559, æt. 25 :

Who will bring it about, your king or the king of France ?

To the Spanish Ambassador, at the beginning of her reign :

I mean to hold what is mine in my own kingdom as my father did.

To somebody unknown ; reported by the Spanish Ambassador to his king. The Spaniards and Germans were stirring up trouble in Scotland ; æt. 27 :

While I have a drop of blood in my body, I shall not cease to seek revenge on the King of Spain and to settle with the Germans.

To the Spanish Ambassador ; 1560, æt. 26 :

It is too late to talk about reconciliation except with sword in hand.

To Philip II. of Spain, to whom she had sent a single messenger :

We should have sent a more formal embassy if, as is usual with acute diseases, such a rankling wound as this did not need a speedy means of cure.

To the same, some ten years before the Armada :

We beg very affectionately that all suspicions may be banished from between us, if any such have been raised by the arts of wicked men, with the object of destroying the close friendship which we enjoyed in our earlier years, and that we may, on the contrary, confirm and strengthen such friendship more and more. If your Serenity does not fail in this, we will, on our part, continue ever ready to take the same course.¹

To Fénelon, the French Ambassador :

I can be very well assured of the friendship of the King of Spain : and as I, for my part, should be extremely sorry² to declare war on him, so he, I think, will never move against me on such poor

¹ *Spanish State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 549, Dec. 22, 1577.

² This sentence well illustrates the pitfalls in translating ancient French. All of my predecessors have translated the words "Elle serait bien marrye de lui" as meaning "She could have married him," failing to note the old word "marrye" means "extremely sorry." Mrs. Price called my attention hereto.

grounds as the Duke of Alva and his ambassador wish him to do.

To Philip II., King of Spain, respecting his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands :

However badly good intentions may be interpreted, such is the strength of calumny, we have nevertheless decided to do our duty in this respect to your Serenity and at the same time to satisfy our own conscience, as indeed we have also done, to your Netherlands States openly in the sight of day, our object being to endeavour to arouse in your breast the same compassion for your subjects which has been aroused in ours.¹

To the Duke of Alva, Spanish commander in the Netherlands, explaining why she had put into her own exchequer an enormous amount of money which she had seized from four Spanish ships which French pirates had driven into her ports. England and Spain were at peace. The money was to pay Spanish troops in the Netherlands, and was, as Elizabeth knew, still the property of the Genoese bankers who were to lend it to Spain :

It being known for a fact that the treasure belonged to the merchants, I thought it well after its due preservation from the perils of the sea, by an act not unreasonable, or contrary to the honourable usages of princes in their dominions, to arrange with its owners, with their goodwill and not otherwise, to borrow it. [She seems to have retained the funds.]

To the Spanish Ambassador, who had delivered to Elizabeth in Latin this ultimatum, as the Armada was about to sail :

¹ *Spanish State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 549, Dec. 22, 1577.

*Belgic Rebels aid no more,
Treasures seized by Drake restore ;
And whate'er thy sire o'erthrew
In the Papal Church, renew.*

The Queen's impromptu reply, in the same tongue, was :

Your orders, good king, shall be obeyed on the Greek kalends. [That is, never ; for the Greeks never reckoned by kalends.]

To de Guaras, Spanish agent in London, reminding him that their two nations ought to be friends :

You understand full well : old wine, old bread, and old friends should be valued ; and if only for the sake of showing these Frenchmen who are wrangling as to whether our friendship is firm or not, there is good reason to prove outwardly the kindly feeling which inwardly exists.¹

To Fénelon, the French Ambassador, referring to Alva, the Spanish governor in the Netherlands, who had put an embargo on all English and their property in Antwerp in retaliation for her seizure of the Genoese money mentioned above. Elizabeth then put every Spaniard in England, including the Ambassador, under arrest :

The Duke of Alva has behaved both arrogantly and lightly : arrogantly, in only deigning to write me one little note which I must compare with a Valentine ; and lightly, in that, without provocation, he has executed an act, not only of seizure but of open

¹ Translation, MS. Simancas : de Guaras to Zayas, Jan. 1575.

hostility against all my subjects. The Duke is neither so great, myself so insignificant nor the affair so unimportant, but that he might have taken the trouble to write fully to me, and to have sent to find out how things were going before attempting such an outrage against me and my subjects.¹

To the French Ambassador ; 1597, æt. 64 :

The Prince of Spain [the son of Philip II., who was then in his last illness] is cruel, haughty and bad, and his sister should be careful that he does not poison her, which he would do if he could.

To the French Ambassador ; 1597 :

If I had not had a better conscience than the King of Spain, I could have injured him greatly ; it only depended upon me ; but for me the whole of the Low Countries would have given themselves to me, but I did not wish to occupy that which did not belong to me ; I could have done the same with the Indies, where had I wished I could have had a big share.

To her Court, before the Armada sailed from Spain :

By God's death, I would send my fleet to disperse the Armada even if it were in the interior of Spain.²

To the French Ambassador ; 1602, æt. 68 :

Whatever designs the King of Spain may have on

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, of conversation on Jan. 20, 1568.

² Translation, Paris Archives, K. 1568 : Letter of Mendoza to Philip II. from Paris, July 24, 1588. Cf. *Cal. S.P. Spanish*, vol. iv. p. 358, No. 353.

me, I shall take good care not to be deceived ; he desires conditions of peace to which I shall never consent, for I look beyond my lifetime to the welfare of my subjects and the security of my kingdom.¹

To the French Ambassador, speaking of Philip III., then but twenty-three :

I am not afraid of a king of Spain who has been up to the age of twelve learning his alphabet.²

¹ Translation, P.R.O. Transcripts, Baschet : M. de Beaumont au Roi. May 29, 1602.

² *Idem*, June 10, 1602.

XXI

ESSEX

To her Court, when, jealous of Blount, the Earl, then only a boy of 19-20 years, insulted him and had to fight a duel with him in consequence. Essex was beaten, with the result that the two became fast friends for life. To Elizabeth, Essex was like a son of her own. He was the grandson of one of her dearest friends, the son of one of her most trusted followers and one of her nearest relatives. He was her junior by thirty-four years, just his age when she beheaded him. When she heard of the duel with Blount, also one of her closest young friends, she burst out :

By God's death, it is fit that some one or other should take the Earl down and teach him manners, otherwise there will be no ruling him. [How exactly she saw the danger Essex was to himself !—the danger that destroyed him years later.]

To the French Ambassador, who was urging her to send over more troops to assist his master against his rebellious subjects, and who was endeavouring to get her assent by skilful use of Essex, who was already in command of a large English force in France, engaged against her orders on a similar errand :

The Earl of Essex would have it thought that he rules my kingdom ; but nothing is more untrue, and I will make him the most pitiful fellow in my realm ; and

instead of sending the King of France more troops, I shall recall those I have lent him.¹

To Sir Robert Carey, who had been sent over by Essex from France to justify his failing to obey an order to return from his command in that country :

I will make him an example to all the world if he presently leave not his charge.²

To the Earl in Ireland :

We perceive by your letters to our Council, brought by Henry Carye, that you have arrived at Dublin after your journey into Munster. You do not inform us when you intend to proceed to the northern action. Much time and excessive charges have been spent to little purpose. Your two months' journey hath brought in never a capital rebel, against whom it had been worthy to have adventured one thousand men ; for of these two comings in that were brought unto you by Ormonde (namely, Mountgarret and Cahir), whereupon ensued the taking of Cahir Castle, full well do we know that you would long since have scorned to have allowed it for any great matter in others to have taken an Irish hold from a rabble of rogues with such force as you had and with the help of the cannon, which was always able in Ireland to make his passage where it pleased. Nothing has been done which the President (Norris) might not have effected. On the other enterprise depends our greatest expectation.

¹ Translation from the *Mém. du Plessis Mornay*, Rapin.

² *Autobiography of Sir Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth.*

What displeases us most is that it must be the Queen of England's fortune (who hath held down the greatest enemy she had) to make a bare Irish Kerne to be accounted so famous a rebel. Ormonde assured us that he delivered you a charge of a kingdom without either town maritime or inland or hold possessed by the traitors. Tyrone has been pleased to see our army employed against those base rogues who were not strengthened by foreign armies, but only by his offal. Little do you know how he hath blazed in foreign parts the defeats of regiments, the death of captains, and loss of men of quality in every corner. Surprises would have found better success than public and notorious marches. Regiments should not be committed to young gentlemen; and you have not informed us who they be that spend our treasure and carry places of note in our army. Your pen flatters you with phrases, that here you are defeated, that you are disgraced from hence in your friends' fortune, that poor Ireland suffers in you. These are the effects of your own actions, which are contrary to our will, and cause an opinion that any person may dare displease us. We will not tolerate this, whosoever it be that you do clad with any honours or places wherein the world may read the least suspicion of neglect or contempt of your commandments. We will never make dainty to set on such shadows as shall quickly eclipse any of those lustres. You allege such weakness in our army by being travailed with you, and find so great and important affairs to digest at

Dublin [but you] will yet engage yourself personally into Ophally (being our Lieutenant), where you have so many inferiors able enough to victual a fort, or seek revenge of those that have lately prospered against our forces. In order to plant garrisons in the North and assail that proud rebel, we command you to pass thither with all speed. For the matter of [the Earl of] Southampton [Wriothesley], it is strange to us that his continuance or displacing should work so great an alteration either in yourself (valuing our commandments as you ought) or in the disposition of our army. His counsel and experience can be of little use ; nor do we believe your assertion that the “voluntary gentlemen are so discouraged thereby, as they begin to desire passports and prepare to return.”¹

To the Earl, still in Ireland :

By the letter and the journal which we have received from you, we see a quick end made of a slow proceeding for anything which our forces shall undertake in those quarters which you pretended to visit, and therefore doubt not but before this time you have ended the charge of the last two thousand which we yielded for other purposes, and of the 300 horse only destined for Ulster services. It remaineth therefore that we return you somewhat of our conceits upon this late accident of your interview with the rebels. We never doubted but that Tyrone, whensoever he saw any force approach either himself or any of his principal

¹ *Cal. S.P. Carew MSS.*, 1589-1699, vol. dci. p. 179 a, July 19, 1599.

partizans, would instantly offer a parley, specially with our Supreme Governor of that kingdom, having often done it to those who had but subaltern authority, always seeking these cessations with like words, like protestations, and upon such contingents as we gather these will prove by your advertisement of his purpose to go consult with O'Donnell. Herein we must confess to you that we are doubtful lest the success will be suitable with your own opinion heretofore when the same rebels held like course with others that preceded you. . . . It appeareth to us by your journal that you and the traitor spake together half an hour alone, and without anybody's hearing ; wherein though we that trust you with our kingdom are far from mistrusting you with a traitor, yet, both for comeliness, example, and for your own discharge, we marvel you would carry it no better, especially when you have seemed in all things since your arrival to be so precise to have good testimony for your actions, as whensoever there was anything to be done to which our commandment tied you, it seemed sufficient warrant for you if your fellow councillors allowed better of other ways, though your own reason carried you to have pursued our directions against their opinions. To whose conduct if we had meant that Ireland (after all the calamities in which they have wrapt it) should still have been abandoned (to whose courses never any could take more exceptions than yourself), then was it very superfluous to have sent over such a personage as you are, who had deciphered so well the errors of their pro-

ceedings, being still at hand with us and of our secretest council ; as [and ?] it had been one good rule for you, amongst others, in most things to have varied from their resolutions, especially when you had our opinion and your own to boot. Furthermore, we cannot but muse that you should recite that circumstance of his being some time uncovered, as if that were much in a rebel when our person is so represented, or that you can think that ever any parley (as you call it) was upon less terms of inequality than this, when you came unto him, and he kept the depth of the brook between him and you ; in which sort he proceeded not with other of our ministers, for he came over to them. So as never could any man observe greater form of greatness than he hath done ; then more to our dishonour that a traitor must be so far from submission as he must first have a cessation granted, because he may have time to advise whether he should go further or no with us. And thus much for the form ; for you have dealt so sparingly with us in the substance, by advertising us only at first of the half-hour's conference alone, but not what passed on either side, by letting us also know you sent commissioners without showing what they had in charge, as we cannot tell but by divination what to think may be the issue of this proceeding. Truly this we are sure (for we see it in effect) that you have prospered so ill for us by your warfare, as we cannot but be very jealous lest you should be as well overtaken by the treaty. For either they did not ill that had the like meetings before you, or you had done ill to keep

them company in their errors ; for no actions can more resemble others that have been before condemned than these proceedings of yours at this time with the rebels. For you must consider that as we sent you into Ireland an extraordinary person, with an army exceeding any that ever was paid there by any prince for so long time out of this realm, and that you ever supposed that we were forced to all this by the weak proceedings even in this point of the treaties and pacifications ; so, if this parley shall not produce such a conclusion as this intolerable charge may receive present and large abatement, then hath the managing of our forces not only proved dishonourable and wasteful, but that which followeth is like to prove perilous and contemptible. . . . To trust this traitor upon oath is to trust a devil upon his religion. To trust him upon pledges is a mere illusory ; for what piety is there among them, that can tie them to rule of honesty for itself, who are only bound to their own sensualities, and respect only private utility ? And therefore, whatsoever order you shall take with him of laying aside of arms, banishing of strangers, recognition of superiority to us, or renouncing of rule over our uriaghes, promising restitution of spoils, disclaiming from O'Neale-ship, or any other such like conditions which were tolerable [before] he was in his overgrown pride by his own success against our power, which of former times was terrible to him ; yet unless he yield to have garrisons planted in his own country to master him, to deliver O'Nealle's sons, whereof the

detaining is most dishonourable, and to come over to us personally here, we shall doubt you do but piece up a hollow peace, and so the end prove worse than the beginning. And therefore, as we well approve your own voluntary profession (wherein you assure us that you will conclude nothing till you have advertised us and heard our pleasure), so do we absolutely command you to continue and perform that resolution ; allowing well that you hear him what he proffers, draw him as high as you can, and advertise us what conditions you would advise us to afford him, and what he is like to receive ; yet not to pass your word for his pardon, nor make any absolute contract for his conditions, till you do particularly advertise us by writing and receive our pleasure.¹

To Essex, as she boxed his ears for insolence. The offence and the punishment were before some of the highest officials of the kingdom. Essex was now aged thirty-three :

Go and be hanged !

To the French Ambassador :

As regards the rebels in Ireland, it was not my intention to pardon them ; that was the idea of a Monsieur of Essex, and I will show him that he had no power to do it ; and had a son of mine committed such a fault I would have put him in the highest tower in England.

¹ *Cal. S.P. Carew MSS.*, No. 316, Sept. 17, 1599.

To the French Ambassador, who had by command of his King pleaded for clemency for Essex after he had disobeyed the Queen's specific command not to leave his post in Ireland :

I beg His Majesty do not judge of the action of Essex without being well informed ; he has so ill-governed in his office, despising his orders and directions from me, that Ireland is in great danger. He has treated with the leader of the rebels without respect to my dignity and honour, and has in the end returned to England against my express command, abandoning the country and army to the enemy, acts deserving of great punishment, which, however, I have not yet imposed, since the Earl is well lodged at one of his friends, with a beautiful room and a garden to walk in. I will later advise His Majesty what I shall do, and I beg him to have a good opinion of me ; and gentleness will always be more agreeable to me than severity ; but I must preserve my authority.

To the French Ambassador, referring to the Earl after his armed rebellion against her :

An ungrateful insensate has at last made clear what he has for a long time hidden in his mind ; and if His Majesty had known him well, he would not have spoken in his favour. . . . I do not wish His Majesty to know all the disobediences of Essex, the more so because His Majesty would blame me for having endured them so long ; I have hidden them even from my own Council, hoping that he would amend them, but he cannot now blame anybody except him-

self for his misfortune, as he has brought it upon himself. If he had [when heading his forces in the streets of London] come to meet me as was reported, I had resolved to go and meet him face to face to see which of us two should reign.¹

To Francis Bacon, with respect to the procedure she wished for the trial of the Earl :

Whatever I do shall be for his chastisement, not for his destruction.

To the Earl :

My purpose is to make you know yourself and your duty to me ; I shall again use your service.

To Bacon, with regard to Essex's flattery of her :

Essex has written to me some dutiful letters, which moved me ; but after taking them to flow from the abundance of his heart, I find them but a preparative to a suit for renewing his farm of sweet wines.²

To Essex, when he petitioned for the renewal of a monopoly she had given him many years before, and which was worth some £50,000 per annum. This petition was with relation to the last Saying above. Elizabeth's reply was :

When horses become unmanageable it is necessary to tame them by stinting them in the quantity of their food !³

¹ Translation, P.R.O. Transcripts, Baschet : M. de Boissize au Roi, Feb. 20, 1601.

² Bacon's Letters.

³ Lingard.

To Bacon, who had suggested that she again send Essex to command in Ireland, despite his disobedience of her orders :

Essex ! When I send Essex back into Ireland, I will marry you. Claim it of me.

To the French Ambassador :

If I could have spared the life of this ungrateful and perfidious Essex and secured the continuance of my authority in the State, I would gladly have been lenient ; but you yourself have seen that he was unworthy ; and while he lived I could not live, and I was compelled to rid myself of this danger. But I confess that I have been partly to blame for this misfortune, as I had made too much of Essex, and had allowed him to become greater among the nobility and the common people than was desirable for a subject.

To the French Ambassador :

Having clearly seen that Essex's impatience and ambitious designs would bring misfortune on him, I warned him more than two years before his execution that, since he took every occasion of displeasing me and insolently despising my person, he should be careful not to touch my sceptre, so that I should be compelled to punish him according to the laws of England and not according to my own, which he had found too gentle and favourable to fear that they would ever do him any harm ; but my warnings, though salutary and affectionate, could not save him, and his

passion had been surmounted by one still greater which I shall not forget to the end of my life, in spite of my regret.¹

When ordering that Essex's banner, hung with those of the other Knights of The Garter, at Windsor, be treated as if he had died in all honour :

I know Essex committed a great crime, but, for the sake of his son, I cannot forget the services he has rendered the Crown.

¹ Translation, P.R.O. Transcripts, Baschet : M. de Beaumont au Roi, June 10, 1602.

XXII

RETORTS

To a lady of Queen Mary's household who, in that Queen's reign, had been particularly cruel towards Elizabeth, but who now asked most abjectly for pardon :

Fear not, we are of the nature of the lion, and cannot descend to the destruction of mice and such small beasts.

To Thomas Randolph, who had come from Paris to tell her that the French King, who as Dauphin had married Mary Stuart, was assuming the titles of King of Scotland, England and Ireland :

I'll take a husband who will make the King of France a good deal of trouble, and it will cause him more injury than he thinks.

To the Spanish Ambassador, soon after she ascended the throne ; æt. 26 :

When those Spaniards now governing in the Pays Bas have gone back to roast in their sweltering Indies or their burning Spain, my religion will be flourishing in the Pays Bas.

To the Portuguese Ambassador ; 1561, æt. 27 :

I shall swamp all those who are trying to ruin me.

To one of her Councillors, who reported defiant language of Morton the Scottish Ambassador :

That language the Earl of Morton never brought with him from Scotland. It was put into his mouth by some of my own Council, and they ought to be hanged outside the castle door with their words about their necks.¹

To Sussex, to whom she had said that she would restore Mary Queen of Scots upon conditions :

But I must have conditions which will enable me to command their observance. I do not mean to depend upon promises. Besides hostages I must have some castle or castles in my hands or in the hands of Scots on whom I can rely.

To the Scottish authorities, telling them to keep order on her borders :

Unless you see the matter redressed, I will reform it myself in such sharp manner as the offenders shall repent themselves and be unable to commit the like again.

To the French Ambassador, who had accused her of sending money to promote rebellion in his country :

[They] cannot boast of having had from me either money, munitions or supplies, unless they got them as did Elijah from the cruse of the widow of Zarephath, for I do not find myself with any the less in my purse, in spite of what they say they have withdrawn from it.¹

¹ Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Everyman Ed., p. 293.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. i. p. 92, July 27, 1569.

To a member of her Council who was causing disturbance to her plans for Scotland ; 1571, æt. 37 :

You are a fool ! [And to another :] You are a madman !

To an attendant, after Sir Mathew Arundel, under her critical scrutiny, had made a far better exhibition of fringed personal adornment than of brains. In complete disgust at his peacock manner, the Queen could not resist spitting on his gaudy raiment and ejaculating :

The fool's wit has gone to rags !¹

To her Court, on learning of the massacre of Alençon's troops through his treachery in Antwerp :

He is a faithless tyrant like his mother [Catherine de' Medici], for they keep faith neither with God nor man.

To Burghley after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and seeking to lay the blame for it upon him :

You are a traitor, a false dissembler and a wicked wretch. Avoid my presence !

To Lord Burghley, when he was aged sixty-eight ; 1588, Armada year :

You are too old and doting.

To Northampton, who had urged her to permit the naming of her successor :

And you, my Lord of Northampton, you who when you had a wife of your own could quote Scripture texts to help you to another ! You, forsooth, must meddle with marriages for me !

¹ Reported by Harrington.

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador, referring to her information that his master with the French King and the Emperor would together attack her :

If they try any such game, they will find that I know how to defend myself.

To de Noailles, the French Ambassador, who had announced that his master was sending a large army to Scotland " to suppress the rebellion there " :

You do well. Look to your own affairs, and I shall look to mine. Those armies and fleets of yours in Normandy are not meant for Scotland only.

Overheard saying to herself, when James of Scotland, then about fifteen, would not permit her messenger to cross his borders :

That crafty boy of Scotland ! That villain for whom I have done so much ! The night before Morton was taken he could call him father ! He could say that he had no friend like Morton who had brought him up and that he would protect him ! And the next day he had him seized and cut off his head. What am I to look for from such a double-tongued scoundrel ?

To James VI. of Scotland, who had been seized by the Protestant nobles :

Judge of me therefore as a king that carrieth no abject nature ; and think this of me, that rather than your danger I will venture mine. And albeit I must confess that it is dangerous for a prince to irritate too much through evil advice the generality of great

subjects, so might you ere now have followed my advice that would never betray you with unsound counsel. . . . Fear not, for your life must be theirs, or else they shall smart, every mother's son of them.

To Gray and Melville, who had come from James VI. of Scotland to plead for his mother's life. They offered to guarantee that if Elizabeth would deliver his mother to James, he would see that she did not plot against Elizabeth :

That would be to arm my enemy with double power, and make him the stronger to do me hurt.

To the Ambassador of Ferdinand, the Emperor, referring to that monarch :

He is a fine Catholic and knows how to tell his beads and pray for the souls in purgatory !

To the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon :

As for the Duke of Norfolk, we understand certainly this Daye that he is coming quietly hytherward : wherein he hath chosen the better way to show his obedience, for otherwise the world should have seene some effects of that authoritie which God hath gyven us.

To the Catholic Bishops who had been deprived of their sees, and had sent her an argument to prove her in error :

We give you warning that for the future we hear no more of this kind, lest you provoke us to execute those penalties enacted for the punishment of our resisters.¹

¹ Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Dec. 6, 1559.

To Alençon, with regard to a proposed treaty between him—representing the Netherlands—France, Spain, and herself as to the government of the first :

Perhaps you will think that the King of Spain may hold himself aloof from the treaty on account of my name. I assure you that had it not been for the love of you, I have not been left bare of good offers, and I think I shall not remain a cipher in such a case, nor without the means of letting you feel it.

To the French Ambassador, who had demanded that she give up Montgomeri, one of the French King's religious rebels :

If he enters this kingdom, I shall reply to the King of France in the same words that the late King, his father, used to the late Queen Mary, my sister, "I refuse to be the Queen of England's executioner." And in the same way, I hope His Majesty will excuse me if I do not wish to be hangman to those of my own religion, any more than he wished to be in the case of those who were not of his.¹

To Catherine de' Medici, complaining that her son, Henry III. of France, had not complied with Elizabeth's request for one of her traitors who had taken refuge in France :

Your Majesty is wise, so I shall say no more but that if the dead were living, he would not permit such an insult, and one which happened at a bad time, for never was I more devoted to any prince than to the

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. v. p. 339, June 3, 1573.

King both in heart and will, as my own acts would have shortly proved, as God knows.¹

To the States of Holland, which had not kept an agreement for indemnifying some of her subjects :

If you do not very soon see to giving them better satisfaction than heretofore, we shall be obliged to consider of remedies therefor, and for the maintenance of our honour, such as will haply not be wholly agreeable to you.

To the Emperor Maximilian, who has asked her how much allowance she proposes to make to his son if he marry her :

I think that he has not so little to spend but that he cannot honourably look to his side of the family.

To the Earl of Huntingdon, then in Scotland as her representative :

Notwithstanding my natural inclination for peace, I will not have the world think I am so base minded as to put up with so great an injury as I have lately received at Scotland's hands.²

To the same :

Give the Regent plainly to understand that whereas he says that he has no doubt but that I shall stand well satisfied with his late proceedings, he gives me just cause to think that he judges either I can content myself with anything, or that I know not what apper-

¹ *Lettres de Catherine de' Medici*, vol. viii. p. 437. It is there dated 1584, but the reference to Morgan proves the true date as 1585—March 14.

² *Cal. S.P. Foreign*, No. 311, p. 119, Aug. 29, 1575.

tains to my honour, or that I lack courage or means to revenge the stain thereof, if I shall rest satisfied with so slender a salve for so grievous a wound.¹

To the same, to say to the Regent of Scotland :

Will him to remember that another king in my seat would have revenged with deeds and left with him his words.²

To the Emperor Maximilian, on the subject of the Catholic religion of his son, whom that monarch was proposing for her husband :

I need not repeat the thousand inconveniences which are incident to the differences of conscience between husband and wife. Many more evils may occur in a kingdom which is divided into two parties, one side for him and the other side for me. This will be like two beasts yoked together but varying in their paces ; we shall never draw evenly. Thus it will happen that what should be united will, on both sides, be changed into hatred.

To Killegrew to transmit to the Regent of Scotland, who had detained one of her officials :

The detaining of the Warden is a thing that so much wounds my honour that so foul a fact can in no ways by him be excused. If I shall prosecute my just revenge he will then learn what it is for one of his base calling to offend one of my quality.³

¹ *Cal. S.P. Foreign*, No. 311, p. 119, Aug. 29, 1575.

² *Idem*.

³ *Idem*, No. 244, p. 93, July 1575.

To Catherine de' Medici, who has been complaining that one of Elizabeth's Ambassadors to the French Court had been too officious :

I am surprised that you should have conceived any suspicion of the last *menage* of my ambassador, and that any question could have arisen about such plain words ; but I am not ignorant from what shop such drugs come. People often speak about me like hunters who divide the skin of the wolf before they have his body, but they will have to pay double for having counted without their host in celebrating their triumph before their victory.

To the Emperor Maximilian, on the subject of her marriage with his son :

I hope that these lines will obtain pardon if too plainly written. I have resolved to loose the bridle of my will and to give liberty to my pen. It has seemed to me a strange thing that Your Sacred Majesty should have allowed five months to pass without sending me either a line or a message. I seriously think that I have been jested with, or that more irons than one have been put into the fire. I consider myself slighted, or at least that I have been kept in the balance in expectation of some better weight.

To the Czar of Muscovy, concerning some of her subjects who had been misbehaving in that country :

[They] be all so obscure men as if their own Naughtiness had not made them known they had never been known unto us.

To Mrs. Fitton [probably she of the Sonnets], one of her ladies, who told the Queen that she represented, in the masque then being performed, " Affection " :

Affection ! Affection 's false !¹

To a gentleman who had sent some pearls to her which she would not accept :

My mind is as great to refuse as yours to give.

To her Court, upon learning that Essex had divided among his commanders and men all the plunder of his capture of Cadiz :

If I have hitherto done his pleasure, I shall now teach him to perform mine.²

To Rudde, Bishop of St. David's, who preached before her at Lent in 1596, when she was sixty-three, and who took occasion to remind her by various calculations that her end was not far off :

You might have kept your arithmetic to yourself ; but I see that the greatest clerks are not always the wisest men.³

To a hitherto unknown distant relative who upon the basis of that connexion had asked a favour :

Friend, grant that it may be so. Dost think I am bound to keep *all* my kindred ? Why, that 's the way to make *me* a beggar !⁴

To Essex, when urging the qualifications of James Morris for attorney-general who, despite Elizabeth's orders that Members of Parliament should " not meddle

¹ *Sidney Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 200-203.

³ *Nugae Antiquae*, vol. ii. p. 216.

² Birch.

⁴ L'Estrange.

with any matters of State," had introduced a bill in that body reforming abuses in ecclesiastical courts, and whom Elizabeth had had promptly arrested therefor :

His speaking against me in the manner he did shall be a bar against any preferment at my hands.¹

To the Scottish Ambassador, whom she had kept without an audience for ten days. These were her first words to him :

A thing long looked for should be welcome when it comes. I would now see your master's orders. [The Ambassador then requested to know if the subject of his orders—Mary Queen of Scots—were "still extant"—that is, alive. The Queen's answer was :] I think it be extant yet, but I will not promise for an hour !²

To the French Ambassadors, who reminded her that she should help their King because he had never joined any movement against her, which could not be said of all other princes :

You may perhaps mean the King of Spain—but my enmity and his having commenced with love, you must not think that we could not get on together at any time I choose.

To the French Ambassadors, of whom she was asking delivery of a traitor, Paget :

Paget promised to Monsieur de Guise to kill me, but I have means enough in Paris to have him killed if I wish it.

¹ Essex's Letters in Birch.

² Memorial of the Master of Gray, Jan. 12, 1586-87.

To the French Ambassadors, who were urging her to counsel Navarre to submit to the French King :

He is of age !

To Fénelon, apologizing for celebrations which had taken place in London among his compatriots because of the signal victory in Languedoc of the Protestant army over that of the King of France :

I gave them no leave to celebrate, and if they do it again I shall drive them all out.

To Fénelon, the French Ambassador, referring to the ulcer above her ankle. This ulcer seems to have remained unhealed for some nine years :

If I am lame, France and Scotland will find that my affairs are not !¹

To Leycester who, jealous of her admiration for the dancing of Hatton, had offered to introduce to her a dancing master who could excel him :

Pish ! I will not see your man ; it is his trade !

To Fénelon, referring to Norfolk, Arundel, Leycester and Pembroke. She had already seized Norfolk :

These men are only subjects advanced by me, and as I made them so can I unmake them, and having already laid my hand on the greatest of them I will put it on the smaller fry when I wish.²

To Fénelon, with regard to the marriage of the King of France to the princess of a house inimical to her :

As the King of France does not consider my

¹ *Vide* Items Nos. 72, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 81 a, 81 b, 83, 85, 121, and 130—*The Medical Record, The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth.*

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. ii. p. 362, 1569.

satisfaction in the alliances he makes, neither shall I consider his interests in mine.

To Robert Carey, when she turned from cards to ask him when his father was going to his new post, to which he had shown little haste to depart. The son replied in such a manner as to show that the necessary speed was still lacking, when she burst out :

God's wounds ! I will set him by the feet and send another in his place if he dallies thus.

To her Court, when she was presented with the warrant for the execution of Sir John Perrot for her signature. Esteeming the charges too frivolous, she refused to sign it, saying :

They were all knaves that condemned him.

To her ladies, after listening to a sermon by the Bishop of London, who had arraigned those who dressed too elaborately :

If the bishop holds more discourse on such matters, I will fit him for heaven, but he will walk thither without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him.

To Fénelon, commenting upon an apology which the Queen-Mother of France, Catherine de' Medici, had offered to her on behalf of her son Anjou, now Henry III., because during the negotiations for his marriage with Elizabeth some years before he had called her "an old woman with a sore leg," and had refused her :

If Henry III. miscalled me, I either did not know, or have forgotten it. Not that I have been well treated in the marriage proposal ; for when all was agreed upon, and I had arranged that he was to have

the exercise of his religion in private, and had sent a councillor to signify my compliance, it was found that he had taken a directly contrary resolution. And though I cannot justly blame him for having averted a marriage with an *old woman*, yet I must once again repeat that my good affection and kind intentions deserved a more civil return.¹

To Fénelon, referring to some reports she had just had from his country :

I have been ridiculed by the buffoons of the French Court, at the instigation of the Duke of Guise, the relative of Louise of Lorraine, aided by the Queen-Mother, Catherine. They moreover dressed up a buffoon in the English fashion, and called him in derision, a *milor* of the *north* ; but in reality, the buffoon represented King Henry VIII.

The Queen-mother should not have spoken so dishonourably and so derisively of so illustrious a prince as my late father, King Henry ; and Lord North [Elizabeth's informant] ought to have told them who were mimicking him that the tailors of France can easily recollect the cut of the clothes of this great king, for he crossed to France more than once with his war flags flying and had considerable business with the people he found there !²

To the Emperor Maximilian, who had been averse to sending his son to her before she agreed to marry him :

Your Majesty must know certainly that I do not

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. vi., July 1574.

² *Idem*, vol. vi. p. 331.

hold myself of such small account that the Archduke will be dishonoured by coming to accept me, not for what I am in myself, but for the honour of the position which I occupy. It seems to me it will be better for both to see each other. Who knows whether he will like the choice made by the eyes of another? *Tot capita, tot sensus* [many heads, many views]. What pleases one is not acceptable to another.

To a messenger from the Duke of Alva, the Spanish Governor of the Netherlands, who sent word that the King (of Spain) his master, who was dispatching a messenger to the Emperor at the same time, had not had leisure to write to her to ask her congratulations on the birth of a son . . . but that he had charged the Duke of Alva to do so in his name :

I rejoice at the good luck of the King of Spain, but not at the fashion in which it has been made known to me ; for as a courier had been despatched so far express for that purpose, he might have been delayed a few moments, or even an hour, to write the same thing which the Duke of Alva has sent to me.

[The messenger requested leave, through the Spanish Ambassador, to remain till he should receive some communication from his sovereign, to which she replied :] In four days I will let you know my pleasure.¹

To the Spanish Ambassador, who endeavoured to save the life of Storey, a traitor, by claiming that he was one of the subjects of Philip II. of Spain :

The King of Spain may have his head if he wants it, but his body shall be left in England.²

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, 1572.

² June 1571.

To her Court, on receiving the answer of the Emperor Maximilian to her suggestion of the resumption of negotiations for a match between his son and herself which she had broken off three years before. The Emperor now replied that his son had in the meantime "turned his thoughts" elsewhere and was already engaged; but he hoped Elizabeth "would henceforth regard him in the light of a brother":

The Emperor has offered me so great an insult that if I were a man instead of a woman, I would defy him to single combat.

To the Duke of Norfolk, in the matter of his proposal to marry Mary Queen of Scots:

I would wish you to take good heed of your pillow.¹

To Murray, who had been encouraged by her to foment the opposition in Scotland against the marriage of Mary and Darnley, and who had publicly asserted that she had done so. She then announced she would not see him until he and his friends denied her support of them. When given audience at last, Murray and his friends fell on their knees before Elizabeth and the French and Spanish Ambassadors and declared that she had never inspired them to oppose the marriage. Elizabeth then burst out:

Now ye have spoken the truth. Get from my presence, traitors as ye are.

To Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, who had been complaining against Drake's piracy:

I will make no restitution till your king has given me full satisfaction about Ireland. I first received offence; I must first receive reparation.

¹ P.R.O.: The Duke of Norfolk's Confession.

To Walsingham, who after belittling Alençon for years was now praising him :

Then, thou knave, why hast thou so many times said ill of him ? Thou art as changeable as a weather-cock !

To Hatton, who asked her how she would extricate herself from the promise to marry Alençon :

With words !—the coin most current with the French : when the field is large and the soldiers cowards there are always means of creeping out.¹

To her Council, when the French King had demanded large money settlements if she married Alençon :

If Alençon thinks fit to forget me in exchange for my money, I will neither marry him nor give him money, and he may do as he likes.

To de Guaras, Spanish agent in England, speaking of the continual imprisonment of English seamen in Spanish ports :

I promise ye that my father would not have put up with it, and if the matter is not amended I shall be obliged to order the arrest of the king of Spain's subjects and treat them in the same way.

To Mendoza, when he had said to her : “ Your Majesty will not hear words, so we must come to cannon, and see if you will hear them.” He writes that then “ Quietly,

¹ “ Preguntando Hatton en que manera pensaba eximirse si el Rey de Francia embiaba el scripto, dixóle: con palabras, que es la mejor moneda que corria entre Franceses; y quando la campaña era larga, y medrosos los soldados, nunca faltaba lugar para descabullirse.”—Al Rey, 11 Noviembre, 1582.—Simancas MS.

in her most natural voice, as if she were telling a common story, she said " :

If you use threats of that kind I will fling you into a dungeon.

To the Spanish Ambassador, who complained that English pirates were harrying Spanish shipping, when the fact was that she was financing them :

England is a large island with many ports in it.

To Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador :

By God ! I will have the Treaty of Ghent allowed, or I will stand by the States [the Netherlands] as long as I have a man left in the realm to fight for them.

To the Spanish Ambassador :

If the Pope or your king sends any help into Ireland I will let out at Flanders and get the French to go in with me.

To Diego Botello, who had been sent to her by Don Antonio, the Portuguese Pretender, after being long in London, and whose cause Elizabeth had espoused because of his potential possibility as a serious danger to Spain. He had just been pressing her for hurried action of a more determined nature than she had yet vouchsafed him. To bring her to his views, he had instructed Botello to threaten that if she did not promptly comply with these requests, he and all of his suite would have to ask for passports—a manner of seeking favours never very successful with Elizabeth nor with her people, then or now, as her reply indicates :

If the King my brother is in such a hurry in his

affairs, he may go whithersoever he pleases ; the road is open.¹

To Burghley, who had first suggested that she had a right to the ransom paid by Cadiz to Essex, and then turned about when he needed to conciliate him, and told her that she had no claim upon it but that Essex had done right in distributing it among his officers and men :

You are a miscreant and a coward ! You are more afraid of Essex than I am !²

To her godson, Harrington, whom Essex had without warrant knighted in their stay in Ireland, upon seeing him for the first time after the return of Essex from his command in that country against her admonitions :

What ! did the fool bring you too ? Go back to your business !³

To Harrington, whose journal of Essex's campaign in Ireland she had been reading :

You are all idle knaves ! And the Lord-Deputy Essex worse, for wasting our time and my commands in suchwise as your journal doth write of.⁴

To Harrington, when he knelt before her and pleaded for leniency for Essex. Seizing him by the belt she swore :

By God's son ! I am no Queen ! That man is

¹ Translation ; *Cal. S.P. Simancas*, vol. iii. p. 671, No. 524, Dec. 17 1586 ; also Paris Archives, K. 1564 ; 244.

² Burghley's letter to Essex, in Birch.

³ Letter left by Harrington, *Sidney Papers*.

⁴ *Sidney Papers*.

above me ! Who gave him command to come here so soon ? I did send him on other business.¹

To one of her Council, at Greenwich :

You are a fool and a hot-head. Don't let me find you in my presence with my Council again.²

¹ Letter left by Harrington, *Sidney Papers*.

² Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iv. p. 30, March 23, 1571.

XXIII

RANDOM FLASHES

To an attendant, who had told her at the Little Conduit in Cheapside during her coronation procession that an old man with a scythe and an hour-glass represented Time in an allegory :

Time ! and time has brought me here !

To an attendant, who asked her why she smiled of a sudden in Cheapside during her coronation procession :

Because I have just overheard one say in the crowd :
“ I remember old King Harry the Eighth.”

To her maid, after being anointed by the Bishop at her coronation :

The oil was grease and smelled ill.

To Mistress Montague, her silk woman, who knit and gave her for New Year's Day, 1559, the first silk stockings the Queen had ever owned. The giver, seeing them so well liked, promised to put more in hand :

Do so, for indeed I like silk stockings well, because they are pleasant, fine and delicate, and henceforth I shall wear no more cloth stockings.

To her judges on their assuming office ; 1559, æt. 25 :

They who know what cares I bear, would not think I took any great joy in wearing a crown.

To some one unknown, speaking of appointing a successor ; reported by the Spanish Ambassador, de Silva :

I do not want any one to whom my subjects can go secretly and offer their devotion, as they did to me when I was a prisoner.

To Parliament, which had urged her to appoint a successor :

The lines which you see in my face are not wrinkles but smallpox marks ; God gave children to St. Elizabeth, and old as I am He may give children to me. If I appoint a successor it will deluge England in blood.

To her Court, when the northern Earls, Northumberland, Westmoreland, the Nortons and Nevilles, rose in rebellion against her :

The earls are old in blood but poor in force.

Written by her on her crushing of the same rebellion :

The doubt of future foes exiles my present joy,
And wit me warns to shun such snares as threaten mine
annoy,

For falsehood now doth flow, and subjects' faith doth
ebb,

Which would not be if Reason ruled, or Wisdom wove
the web ;

But clouds of toys untried do cloak aspiring minds,
Which turn to rain of late repent, by course of changed
winds.

The top of hope, supposed, the root of ruth will be ;
And fruitless all their grafted guiles, as ye shall shortly
see.

These dazzled eyes with pride, which great ambition
blinds,

Shall be unsealed by worthy wights, whose fore-
sight falsehood binds.

The daughter of debate, that eke discord doth sow,
Shall reap no gain, where former rule hath taught still
peace to grow.

No foreign banish'd wight shall anchor in this port ;
Our realm it brooks no stranger's force, let them else-
where resort ;

Our rusty sword with rest shall first his edge employ,
To poll their tops that seek such change, and gape for
joy.

To Fénelon :

For my part, I pray to God that I shall not live one
hour after I have thought of using deception.¹

To Fénelon, of the King of Spain :

If he perseveres in the policy I hear he intends to,
he will show that he not only loves treason, which
Princes sometimes know how to encourage, but that
he also loves the traitor, whom no true Prince has ever
regarded with a kindly eye.²

*To Lord Burghley, for the second time revoking the
order for the execution of the Duke of Norfolk, one of her
own blood, two hours before sunrise, the time set for the
beheading :*

MY LORD,—Methinks that I am more beholden to

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iv. p. 41, April 1, 1571.

² *Idem*, p. 32, March 23, 1571.

the hinder part of my head than will dare trust the forward side of the same, and therefore sent the lieutenant and the S., as you know best, the order to defer this execution till they hear further. And that this may be done, I doubt nothing, without curiosity of my further warrant, for that this rash determination upon a very unfit day, was countermanded by your considerate admonition. The causes that move me to this are now not to be expressed, lest an irrevocable deed be in meanwhile committed. If they will need a warrant, let this suffice, all written with my own hand. Your most loving souveraine, ELIZABETH R.¹

[This letter is endorsed in Lord Burghley's hand :

xi. Apl. 1572.

The Q. Majy. with
her own hand for
staying of the execution
of the D. N.
R. at 2 in the morning.

Elizabeth later on two occasions re-ordered the execution, and at the last moment withdrew each, before she could bring herself to permit the tragedy.]

To Fénelon, whom she suspected of trying to influence Anjou to marry Mary Queen of Scots instead of herself :

One day I shall have your master Anjou tell you, if things come to a successful end [that is, if she and Anjou marry] that you should have maintained that

¹ Ellis, *Royal Letters*.

a match with me is more honourable to him than with the Queen of Scots.¹

To Alençon, who has captured Cambray and thinks of abandoning it :

As for Cambray, it is for you to consider the honour which you have gained in acquiring it, and that to strip yourself of it without security for a better garment will leave you too cold this winter.

To Catherine de' Medici :

I am glad you and the King can so far forget my sex as to give me the credit of one who can hold my tongue.

To a servant in Burghley's house, when she was about to enter his sick-chamber, who had counselled her to stoop so as not to disarrange her head-dress by an overhanging curtain :

For your master's sake I will stoop, but not for the King of Spain.

To the wife of the French Ambassador, whom Elizabeth wished to impress with the fact that she had a near relative in the Court—Arabella Stuart—with whose presence she could keep in order any obstreperousness of James VI. of Scotland by threatening him with the fact that she did not need to have him for an heir :

Regard her well for she is not so simple as you may think. One day she will be even as I am, and will be lady mistress ; but I shall have been mistress before her.

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iv.

To Lord Grey de Wilton, who had captured and slaughtered the Spanish force in Ireland :

The mighty hand of the Almighty power hath showed manifestly the force of his strength in the weakness of feeblest sex and mind this year to make men ashamed ever hereafter to disdain us ; in which action I joy that you have been chosen the instrument of his glory. . . .

To Fénelon :

God has given such brave soldiers to this Crown that, if they do not frighten our neighbours, at least they prevent us from being frightened by them.¹

To de Foix, the French Ambassador, who was urging her to marry a French prince and who complained that she had compelled him to wait six days without an answer to his last proposition :

I know that it is true I have the imperfection of being longer than necessary in coming to a conclusion in these deliberations—a fault that has caused me much injury in the past . . . it is true that the world was made in six days, but it was by God, to whose power the infirmity of men is not to be compared.²

To the King of France, Henry IV., whom she had tried to induce to come to Dover while he was stopping at Calais :

I regret the unhappiness of princes who are slaves to forms and fettered by caution.³

¹ Translation, *Recueil des Dép.*, Cooper, vol. iv. p. 445, 1572.

² P.R.O., Paris Transcripts, Baschet, Bundle 25, pp. 4 and 12, May 10, 1565.

³ Aug. 1601.

To the French Ambassador, when she was sixty-four :

I was never beautiful, but I had the reputation of it thirty years ago.

To the French Ambassador :

I maintain at least 60 musicians, and in my youth I danced very well, composed ballets and music, and played and danced them myself . . . I used to dance . . . after the Italian manner of dancing high.

To the French Ambassador :

When I came to the throne, I knew six languages better than my own.

To one of her company when she was in the law-courts listening to an argument against her by Egerton :

By my troth, he shall never plead against me again !
[And she immediately retained his services for ever afterward, raising him to high place which he filled with great honour.]

To the French Ambassador :

I have had great experience in the world, having known what it is to be both subject and sovereign, and to know the difference between good neighbours and those who are evilly disposed toward me.

To the Spanish Ambassador ; 1580 :

'The use of the sea and air is common to all ; neither can a title to the ocean belong to any people or private

persons, forasmuch as neither nature nor public use and custom permit any possession thereof.¹

To Sir Thomas Shirley, who told her, in defence of Leycester's course in the Netherlands in accepting the supreme power, that a far greater blow to Spain was the attack of Drake on the shipping in Spanish ports :

I can very well answer for Sir Francis—but, if need be, the gentleman careth not if I should disavow him.

To Sir Roger Williams, who appeared before her in boots of untanned leather to present a petition to which she would give no more attention than to observe :

Pho, Williams, how your boots stink ! [The Welshman had sense enough to say : “ ‘Tut, Madam, it is my suit that stinks, not my boots.’”]

To de Maisse, the French Ambassador ; æt 64 :

I am very sorry to see you here—after having seen so many wise people and great princes that you should now come to see a poor silly woman.

To her Councillors, who had recommended mercy to be shown to Ireland after the awful cruelties her generals had committed there :

The Irish are misled by a fear that I mean by a conquest to deprive them of their lands and liberties. I have no such thought or intention. The realm of Ireland is mine already, and if the people will only show themselves obedient I will take them as my loving subjects.²

¹ Camden, 1580 ; Hannis Taylor, *Public International Law*, p. 291.

² For this and more of same tenor *vide* Lord Grey correspondence to Walsingham and the Queen, P.R.O. MS., Ireland, Dec. 1580–April 1581.

To her Council, speaking of Ireland :

The confidence which I have long reposed in you has enabled you with ease and convenience to fill your chests and reduce me to the condition in which I now find myself ; but be well observant of the northern country, for I dread lest it shall avenge itself of the blood of that poor people which you compelled me to shed in those parts ; and should those people rise again, we shall not be long on our feet.

To Walsingham, then her representative at the French Court :

I have heard that certain savage rebels, being men of no value, have fled out of Ireland into Spain, and who pretend that their departure is for matter of religion, when they be neither of one or other religion, but wholly given to bestiality. I know also that Stuckley has lit into the company of the aforesaid rebels, pretending by his superfluous expenses, which are altogether of other men's goods, to be a person of some quality and estimation, and able to do some great thing in Ireland, whereas he has not the value of a " marmaduc " in land or livelihood.

To her Court, after the terrible war of extermination her forces under Mountjoy had introduced into Ireland :

I find that I sent wolves not shepherds to govern Ireland, for they have left me nothing but ashes and carcasses to reign over ! ¹

¹ Sir John Ware, *Annals of Ireland*. Sole authority.

XXIV

THE INEVITABLE HOUR

To a deputation of twenty peers, who urged her to marry :

I do not choose that my grave should be dug while I am still alive.

To somebody unknown, in the matter of the succession :

[You are asking me] to pin up a winding-sheet before my face so as to point out my successor and urge me to declare him.¹

To an attendant who remarked that there were several great offices which must be filled :

I am sure MY place will not long be vacant !

To Lord North, who told her in response to her inquiry, as he was carving at her table one day, that a certain uncovered dish contained a "coffin," which seems to have been a meat pie of some sort of joint of the time. The Queen said, in a voice that apparently for ever changed the name of the dish [certainly I have never seen the old name used as of a later date] :

And are you such a fool as to give a pie such a name ?

To some one of the Court whose identity has not

¹ Harrington.

survived, on the eternal point of her declaration of a successor to the throne :

I can by no means endure a shroud to be held before my eyes while I am living.

To her ladies, on the subject of her epitaph :

I am no lover of pompous title, but only desire that my name may be recorded in a line or two, which shall briefly express my name, my virginity, the years of my reign, the reformation of religion under it, and my preservation of peace.¹

To some unidentified person :

The name of a successor is like the tolling of my own death-bell !

To the French Ambassador ; 1602, æt. 68 :

I am tired of living, with nothing to give content or anything to give pleasure.²

To her godson, Harrington, four months before her death, when he had tried to divert her with some of his comical writings :

When thou dost feel creeping time at thy gate these fooleries will please thee less. I am past my relish for such matters.

Her last letter to the French King, only a month or so before her death ; 1603, æt. 69 :

All the fabric of my reign, little by little, is beginning to fall.

¹ Bacon, *Apophthegms*.

² Translation, P.R.O. Transcripts, Baschet : M. de Beaumont au Roi, June 10, 1602.

To Lady Scroope, one of her closest relatives as well as friends, and a maid of honour, as the Queen was entering upon her last illness :

I saw one night my own body exceedingly lean and fearful in a light of fire. Are you wont to see sights in the night ?¹

To the Lord Admiral, Howard, upon leaving London for the last time :

My throne has always been the throne of kings, and none but my next heir of blood and descent shall succeed.

To members of her Council, who urged her to take medicines as she was dying :

I want to be allowed to die at my ease, and in peace.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury and to Cecil, in her final illness, after she had refused to go to bed for days :

I know my own constitution better than you do, and I am not in so much danger as you imagine.

To the Lord Admiral, Howard, who had been called in to see if he could persuade her to return to bed :

If you were in the habit of seeing such things in your bed as I do when in mine you would not persuade me to go there.

To Cecil, who was a hunchback and very short, when he had told her that " to content the people you must go to bed " :

The word " must " is not to be used to princes.

¹ *The Relation of the Lady Southwell of the late [Queen's] death*, po. Aprilis, 1607. This MS. is at Stonyhurst, in the keeping of its famous Catholic institution of learning.

Little man, little man, if your father had lived ye durst not have said so much ; but ye know I must die and that makes ye so presumptuous.

To the Lord Admiral, Howard, a near relative and a fast friend all through their lives : she had sent all the rest of her entourage out of the death chamber and was alone with him :

My lord, I am tied with a chain of iron about my neck. I am tied, I am tied, and the case is altered with me.

To Cecil, whom she knew to have told outside that she had become mad in these last days :

Cecil, I know that I am not mad. You must not think to make Queen Jane of me ! [The allusion seems probably to have been to the insane Joanna, mother of Charles v.].

To those about her several days before she left for ever :
I wish not to live any longer, but desire to die.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was praying by her side the last night and who had been calling to her mind her great accomplishments as a monarch. These appear to have been her last words :

My lord, the crown which I have borne so long has given enough of vanity in my time. I beseech you not to augment it in this hour when I am so near my death.

APPENDIX

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NOTE I

INSTRUCTIONS BY QUEEN ELIZABETH TO MR. BEALE

(*Cal. of Scottish Papers*, vol. vi. p. 74, Nov. 1581; No. 79.)

Is to let the Queen of Scots understand that whereas she perceives by her late letters delivered to her by the French Ambassador, with the contents whereof he shall be made acquainted, that she is desirous she should send to her one of her trusty servants to whom she might communicate some matters of importance which she says she has to impart to her, she has made especial choice of him to repair to her for that purpose. Is to let her understand that whereas in the said letters she requires her counsel touching the overture which she says has been made to her in the behalf of her son for his name and title of King of Scotland, she, finding it a matter of great importance for that State and that may touch him very near, as it may call in question many actions both public and private that have passed in the course of his government by virtue of the authority of his regal title and jurisdiction, which could not but breed a strange alteration in the State—has thought good therefore, before she grows to any resolution therein, to acquaint the King with the matter and to require to know his intention in that behalf, as well for her better instruction how to satisfy her request, as for that she would not give any just cause either to the King or his subjects to take it unkindly at her hands that she should give her advice in a matter of so great importance to them without their knowledge, and that

after she has received the King's answer she will not fail to send him direction for answering her request. Is to let her understand that in the meantime she will do well for her part to acquaint her with the circumstances of the order, that is to be observed in the course of the passing of the said name and title, to the end she may consider of them and by comparing the same with that she shall receive from the King she may grow to a speedier resolution therein. And for that he may the more particularly draw from her what is meant in the motion for advice, she has caused certain articles to be set down, collected as well out of her letters as otherwise, to be propounded to her, whereto he is to press her to yield her answer, using such persuasions herein as he shall see most fit for that purpose thinking it very expedient that he first advertise her of his proceedings touching the points above mentioned before he makes his repair to her, to the end he may, if she shall see cause upon advertisements out of Scotland, proceed in some further dealing with her, according to such directions as he shall receive. Is to let her understand that she found her letters written in a very strange sort, containing certain requests accompanied with threats and menaces in case the same be not performed, which unwonted course gives her cause to marvel upon what ground this new courage has grown ; if this proceeds upon a conceit thereby to terrify her, as the only way to draw her to yield to her desire, she shall find herself greatly abused. Whereas, among other things, she says she assures herself that in case her request shall be denied all other Princes will embrace the same till it be brought to effect, is to let her understand that she very much marvels that she, remaining here in the state of a prisoner, should have such a general intelligence with all Princes, as her letters import ; which shows that the restraint wherewith she finds herself aggrieved is

not so strait as she pretends, and that, therefore, finding the liberty already granted to her both abused and disliked by her, it will behove her to take another order therein. Touching the Princes she speaks of, she does not doubt but that they will have as great regard to continue good amity with her as to be carried away with any such provocation as she can use to attempt anything that may be offensive to her, not being ignorant that if they had been as ready to execute as she was to provoke them to it by such ministers as she has sent abroad throughout Christendom, she had ere this tasted of the fruits of her malice. If it were so that the Princes would be induced, as she imagines, to attempt anything against the crown of England by forcing her to do that which she should not find agreeable with her safety, she doubts not but she will be able to make ready against them, though it has pleased her, most untruly, to give the said Princes to understand that there was such a general discontentment in England, through her [Mary's] mischievous means, that it were easy to kindle such a fire in the same as hardly could be quenched. By which kind of proceeding she greatly abused the Princes and slandered her good subjects, who would be found as ready to hazard their goods and lives in her service as ever for any other Prince who occupied the place she now holds, having always carried a singular care to conserve their goodwill and love by delivering justice to them without respect of persons, and not grieving them with such heavy impositions and taxations as by other Princes in these days are laid upon subjects, having at no time committed anything that might breed alienation of their love towards her, and if she herself had held this course of government in Scotland neither England nor Scotland had been troubled with her as they have been. Whereas she proceeds to a further degree of threatening, saying she

will resign the kingdom of Scotland into her son's hands, and whatsoever else belongs to her or she may pretend title to, leaving to him to use the matter as he shall think good, and so, consequently, not to be answerable for any such practice or negotiation as shall depend thereon—he shall let her understand, for the relinquishing of the title, that there may be some question made whether she has any, her son being invested of the Crown as he is by public consent of the States of Scotland, which title, notwithstanding that he has taken the government into his own hands by the space of these two years, he, for anything she can learn from him, does not seem to be disposed to give over. As for her pretension, if she means the Crown of England, he is to show her that if her son proceeds through her advice to carry himself so ungratefully as he has begun she will take order not only to cut off all hope by ordinary course of justice that they may have hereafter to attain to the said crown but also provide that he shall not be able to annoy her, but shall be glad to seek her favour and friendship as whereupon depend chiefly his good fortune as well for the present as for the time to come ; and that, therefore, if she loves him as she professes to do, she shall do well to give him advice to carry himself in such sort towards her that she may not withdraw that love and good will she has always borne towards him. Whereas she moves her by way of advice to take the advantage that is offered her by fortifying herself with the amity of her and her son, charging her to be answerable before God and men for that she has been kept in prison for thirteen years, he is to answer that she sees no reason why she should acknowledge to receive a benefit from those on whom she bestows it ; for those who consider the state of Scotland and of England may easily see that Scotland is rather to be fortified by England than England by Scotland, for

that the stronger always gives laws to the weaker. As for her detention, he shall show her that if she duly looked into the matter she might, without blaming others, find the cause thereof to grow from herself, and therefore should not do as the dog does "that resorteth to the stone and forgetteth the caster"; for if she would descend to the consideration of the cause without particularity, she would then see that her detention at the beginning, and the continuance of the same, grew of her own deserts upon her misbehaviour, for she cannot be ignorant how ambitiously, through the persuasion of sundry of her race by the mother's side, there was an entry made in furtherance of such pretence as she seems to have to this crown, taking on her at that time, contrary to all justice, the arms and title of the crown of England, which gave her just cause to make profit of her repair to England being, notwithstanding, performed in such honourable sort that few Princes have yielded the like to any that pretended title to their crown. But how thankfully the same was requited by such practices as were set abroad by her in England, whereby divers of the noblemen and their houses were overthrown, and also the continuance of her malice towards her—which is to be verified by her own letters—all the world may judge. Is to remind her that when the whole Parliament of England found it meet that her actions should have been called in question and she proceeded against in course of justice, she was the only cause of the stay thereof, which she should acknowledge, though in very truth she has sought and still seeks to trouble this State by provoking foreign Princes to enter into some action against her—a matter that would induce any other Prince but herself to take such revenge thereof as may stand both with justice and policy. Therefore, if she could as duly look into her own doings, being full of treachery and unthankfulness,

as she is ready to apply her own griefs, finding fault with the restraint of her liberty, she should then have more cause to be thankful for the favour she undeservedly has received, than to complain of the hard usage she finds herself grieved with. If she shall either deny these matters of practice she is charged with or shall in heat of passion deliver over any intemperate speeches, then he is (1) to acquaint her with such letters as he shall carry with him to verify the same, and (2) which is to stay her intemperate speeches, he is to let her understand that if she shall not content herself with the usage she receives—which is much better than she deserves—she will take some other course that her own safety and her unthankfulness require. Is not to make her acquainted with this latter part of his instructions touching the misliking she has of the contents of her letter until, upon knowledge to be received from him of his proceedings with her in the other points, he shall receive further direction.

NOTE II

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

(P.R.O., *S.P. Scotland*, Elizabeth, vol. xiii. fol. 30; Feb. 24, 1567.)

Madame, mes oreilles ont esté tellem^t estourdies et mon entendem^t si fasch' et mon cueur tellem^t effrayé a ouir l'horrible son de l'habominable meurtre de vos[tre] feu mary et mon tué Cousin que quasi encores n'ay de l'esprit den escriver, et combien q' mon naturel me contraniet de condoler sa mort m'appartenant si pres de sangue si est ce q' vous dire hardym^t ce q' Jen pense, Je ne puis celer que Je ne soye plus dolente po^r vo^s que po^r luy. O madame Je ne feroie l'office de fidelle cousine ne d'affectionée Amie si

J'estudiera [?] plustost a complaire a vos oreilles que de m'employer a conserver vo^t honneur ; pourtant Je ne vous celeray point ce que la plus part de gens en parlent c'est que vous regarderez entre vos doigtz sur la revenge de cest facte, et que n'avez garde de toucher ceulx qui vous ont faict tel playsir comme si la chose n'eust esté commise sans que les meurtriers en eussent sceu leur assurance. De moy pensez Je vous supplie q' ne vouldrois q'une telle pensée residast en mon cueur po^r tout l'or du monde Je naurois Jamais si mauvais hoste qui logeroit en mon cueur que d'avoir si mauvaise opinion de q'lque prince que ce fust, beaucoup moins lauray Je de ceste la a qui Je soubhaite aultant de bien qui mo' cueur pourra Imaginer ou que vous mesmes scauriez souhaiter. Pourtant Je vous exhorte, Je vous conseille et vous supplie de prendre ceste chose tellem^t a cueur que n'avez peur de toucher voyre le plus proche qu'avez sil le touche, et q' nulle p^suasion vous retire a en fet^t exemple au monde questez et noble Princesse et questiez loyalle femme. Je n'escrrips si vehementem^t po^r doub^t q' J'en ay, ains po^r l'affection q' Je vous porte en particulier car Je ne suis ignorant q' n'avez de plus sages conseillers que moy, si est ce q' quant il me souvient q' nos Seign^r entre douze avoit vng Judas, et q' Je masseure q'ung plus fidelle de moy ne y peult estre, Je vous offre mon affecti^on au lieu de le^r prudence. Quant aux trois choses qui mont este co'mu'iq' par Melvine J'entends par toutes ces Instructions q' continuez en grande enuie de me satisfaire, et quil vo' contentera d'octroyer la requeste q' my lord Bedford vous faict en mon nom po^r la ratifica'on de v're traicte qui vj ou vij ans passez mestoit faict vous promettant q' Je la demandois aultant po^r v're bien q' po^r quelque proffit que men resouldra. Des aultres choses Je ne vous fascheray de plus longue l're sinon a vous remettre au rapport de ce gentilhomme et vous

remercier de ce messangier et po^r voz honnestes l'res
 lesquelles m'estoyent et sont bien agreables sortant de
 voz mains priant le Creato^r vous donner la grace de
 congnoistre ces traistres et de vous en garder com'e
 de ministres de Satan apres mes tres cordialles re-
 commandac'ons a vous tres chere seur de Westmt ce
 24 de feb.

[Endorsed] 24 February 1566[7].

Cop' l'rar' Reg' maiestat' ad Reg^{am} Scot.

NOTE III

LETTER FROM DE QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

(Fecha en Londres á 1^o de Julio de 1559. *Col. de Docs. Inéd.* vol.
 lxxxvii. p. 210. Also *vide* Arch. Gen. de Simancas—Sec. de
 Estado—Leg. 812, fol. 72.)

DEL OBISPO DE AQUILA Á SU MAJESTAD

A 27 y 28 del pasado escribí á V.M. lo que se
 ofrecia en los negocios de aquí ; lo que despues hay
 en ellos, es que habia tres días que llegó de Francia
 Tomás Randolf, hermano de otro Randolf, que es
 criado de V.M. ; luégo, en llegando, fué á hablar á
 la Reina, y le dijo como el Delfin habia mandado
 juntar las armas de Inglaterra con las suyas en muchas
 partes, y que se decia que se publicaria presto Rey
 deste Reino ; dice que la Reina le dijo, despues de
 haber entendido todo lo que habia en aquello, que
 ella tomaria un marido del cual pesase mucho al Rey
 de Francia, y que le pudiese hacer más daño del que
 agora pensaba. Mandóle dar 200 ducados y que se
 volviese luego á Francia, para donde habia de partir
 anoche. He entendido que el Duque de Chatelerao
 está en Inglaterra y muy cerca de Londres. Antier
 Sicel, despues de haber entrado y salido dos ó tres

veces con avisos á la Reina, se parti6 de Granvich de improviso con solos dos criados ; no he podido saber donde ha ido, aunque lo he procurado por diversas vias, porque todos dicen variamente. Tengo por cierto que ha ido á hablar á este Duque, y que se entenderá presto la nueva deste casamiento, porque no es de creer que hubieran recogido aquí á éste en tal tiempo, con tanto perjuicio de la amistad de franceses, sino viniese á cosa hecha y á ser más que huesped. El que ha dicho que este Duque está aquí es Juan Alí, un deudo de la Reina, el cual partirá de aquí mañana para Italia por no ver lo que aquí pasa ; lleva orden de la Reina para de camino visitar á la Duquesa de Lorena de su parte, y decirle que si se quiere venir aquí, le hará muy gran placer y le quedará muy obligada ; no he podido saber si la convida por amistad á estar en su compañía, o si la quiere para algun negocio particular, más de que el mismo Juan Alí ha dicho esto. Tambien se dice que la Reina tiene nuevas que en el pais del Norte andan las cosas inquietas por lo de la Religion, y que no han querido recibir este nuevo libro de Oficios. En el Obispado de Winchester, si cierto que no le han recibido ni querido jurar y que están agora en esta confusion, y que de aquí no los han osado apretar aún. De Escocia no se entiende nada porque dicen que han vedado el venir y escribir á Inglaterra. Estos se dan priesa á recoger dineros y anticipar, aunque sea por no más de un mes, la cobranza dellos, que es señal que piensan que los podrian haber menester ántes. El Embajador del Rey de Francia anda con cuidado ; ha enviado un gentil-hombre á Francia y dos ó tres correos estos dias, y á que me envia personas á entender lo que acá pasa, y qué satisfaccion tiene V.M. desta Reina, maravillándose que ella no haya enviado Embajador á la Corte de V.M. Publica grandes rigores de su Rey contra los heréjes, y dice que quiere quemar á

Ginebra todo para ganar las voluntades á los católicos. Al Obispo de Linconia han sacado de la Torre, porque estaba muy malo. Nuestro Señor vida y Real estado de V.M. guarde y prospere por muy largos tiempos con acrecentamiento de mayores Reinos y Señorios en su servicio. De Londres, etc.

